BETWEEN A

Protestant

AND A

PAPIST,

Concerning,

1. *Prayer in an unknown Tongue.*
2. *The Half Communion.*
3. *The Worshipping of Images.*
4. *The Invocation of Saints.*

Very seasonable for these Times.

By GILBERT COLES, D. D.
Late Fellow of *Winchester* College.

OXFORD, Printed at the Theater,

And are to be Sold by *Moses Pitt* at the *Angel* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, *Peter Parker* at the *Leg* and *Star* in *Cornhil*, *William Leak* at the *Crown* in *Fleetstreet*, and *Thomas Guy* at the Corner Shop of little *Lumbard-street* and *Cornhil*, 1679.

A DIALOGUE
BETWEEN A
Protestant
AND A
PAPIST.

By GILBERT COLES, D. D.

OXFORD, Printed at the Theater,

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

GEORGE

Lord Biſhop of WINCHESTER.

Right Reuerend, and my very good Lord,

I Am bold to entitle theſe Firſt-fruits unto your Lordſhips Favor and Protection, as being conſcious how much they need it, to ſhield them from this Cenſorious Age: wherein impotent Men (who ought to learn and become Diſciples, and reap the Fruits of others Labors) uſurp the Chair, and ſit as Judges, moſt ſeverely to cenſure and condemn. A Generation furniſh'd only with Principles deſtructive; to pull down and not to edifie; to except againſt what is Written, and ſuperciliouſly ſmile at the Authors folly (as they have concluded) whil'ſt they are wiſe in their own Conceits, and ſecure themſelves from public Cenſure, by doing nothing that would become a public Spirit: thto deteſtable Ignorance or Idleneſs,

Idleness, betraying the Truth unto their Industrious Adversaries, yielding up a Righteous Cause to the Lusts of Men, for want of Zeal or Courage to defend it.

Now we must needs acknowledg your Lordships great Example and Encouragement hath not bin wanting to the contrary. Your Clergy of this Diocess might have learn'd from you to Preach and Speak boldly in the Defence of Truth, to reason with, and convince Gainsayers. And for mine own particular, having had the favor sometimes to stand before you, and hear your familiar Communications, in great humility and condescention with such as were far inferior and subject to you, I declare, That from your Lordships occasional Intimation and Discourse, I took the One and Invitation to write in the Defence of the Church of *England*, against her Adversaries of *Rome*: & having reason to distrust my self in so great an Undertaking, I was confident to commit these poor Endeavors unto your Censure; and lo! thro your Tenderness and Indulgence, they are improv'd into

into a favorable acceptance and Approbation. Whereupon I am encouraged to preſent them unto public view, and humbly beg, They may paſs into the World under the Wing of your Autority and Veneration; and then, no doubt, the malevolent will be ſober.

That Almighty God would lengthen your date of Life to rule his Church, and do much good in an evil Generation; and finally Crown your Piety with Immortality and Glory, is the Praier of,

Your Lordſhips

Moſt humble

and obedient Servant,

Gilbert Coles.

into a favorable acceptance and Approbation. Whereupon I am encouraged to present them unto public view, and humbly beg, They may pass into the World under the Wing of your Authority and Veneration; and then, no doubt, the malevolent will be sober.

That Almighty God would lengthen your date of Life to rule his Church, and do much good in an evil Generation; and finally Crown your Piety with Immortality and Glory, is the Prayer of,

Your Lordships

Most humble

and obedient Servant,

THE PREFACE To the READER.

I Make no other Apology (Christian Reader) for my committing these Papers to the Press, but this: The Love of Truth constreined me; and a just indignation against those Emissaries of Rome who lastly swarm'd among us, and have not yet, we fear, taken their flight, notwithstanding the Law hath banish'd them. But the Laws of Princes oblige not them, against the Mission of their Superiors: hither they will come, and here they will abide, compassing Sea and Land to make Proselytes. They flatter themselves (or at least the simple) with expectation of great Success of their Labors. Observing our sad Divisions, and great Corruptions, they find good Fishing in Troubled Waters; and conclude; The general Debauchery of Mens lives, will dispose them to entertain a Religion suited to their Vitious Inclinations, wherein they may have Indulgencies, and Pardons, and perfect Absolution upon easie terms. They well know, That only our Sins can bring such a Judgment upon this Island (which God avert) as to let in Popery; and as they see our Iniquities abound, so their Hopes and Confidences improve to make us corrupt in our Religion, as in our Lives.

But we hope better things from a Gracious God, and Invincible Truth, That the Church of England shall stand against all Undermines at home and abroad. Only let such as love the Lord hate evil, and let the Truths of God be more pretious in our Eyes, than to be Sacrificed unto the Lusts of Men.

And when we ſhall obſerve ſuch Induſtrious Deſigns ſet on foot to bring in Errors: Good God! How earneſtly ſhould we contend to keep them out?

Formerly we had Stout and Learned Champions of the Reformed Religion, who put our Adverſaries well-nigh to ſilence by the advantage of their Cauſe, & their indefatigable Induſtry and Piety. But, however it comes to paſs, the Scene is alter'd: The Envious one ſows his Tares, and few appear to weed them out; the Truths of God are contradicted, and we are ſilent.

Since a Puritan Faction made the Schiſm, diſturbing the Peace of Church and State; approving themſelves better ſkil'd at their Weapons then their Arguments; inſtead of Writing againſt their Adverſaries, Fighting againſt their Friends: Since the Venerable Fathers of our Church were driven from their Habitations, bereft of their Libraries and of their Lively-hoods, forc'd to ſeek for ſuccors, many of them, in Foreign Parts: Since the Presbyterian and Indepenent Chaplains had learn'd the Merchandize of Plundred Books, ſelling whole Libraries upon eaſie terms unto Popiſh Factors: Since our Univerſities were Garriſon'd and Reform'd, All the Fellows and Students of Colleges thruſt out to ſeek their Fortunes; a Generation of Seekers, and puny Diſcipies ſucceeding: I ſay, ſince the year 1642. there hath bin a ſad long Vacation in England *from ſtudious Reading and Writing of Books; and thereout our Adverſaries of* Rome *have ſuck'd no ſmall advantage. They are bold in Challenges and Diſputes, and Controverſial Pamphlets, whereunto the true Sons of the Church of* England *could not rejoin, for want of neceſſaries and Books; the Presbyterians, for want of Learning.*

Since His Majeſties miraculous and happy Return, The Church hath had time to breath, and all things move in their

own

own Sphere. But Learning and Judgment come not in per saltum, *the Interciſion of twenty Years is ſadly ſenſible, and to be lamented: Our old Divines, thro deſuetude, and the infirmities of Age, are indiſpos'd to enter into the Liſt of Controverſies; our yong Divines, are unfurniſh'd with Materials. Thirteen Years (ſince His Majeſty warm'd the drooping Genius of this Nation with his nearer Influence and Protection) being too ſhort a term for men to traverſe the Cycle of the Arts and Sciences, to revolve the Learned Volumes of the Fathers, to be vers'd in the Councils and Hiſtories of the Church, and to wind themſelves out of the Labyrinth of the Schools. And there are very few of the middle ſort:* For when the Glory of the Land was departed, and the Virgin Daughter of *Sion* did ſit in the duſt; *our military Schiſmatics committed an horrible Rape upon Religion and Learning, all things were proſtituted to their Intereſts and Luſts, our new model'd Univerſities ſtudied nothing but Politics and Pamphlets, compendious Syſtems of New Philoſophy and Divinity: ſo that the Inſtitution of two or three Years, was more then ſufficient to qualifie them for the Pulpit and the Preſs, and to vent their extemporary Notions to a deluded People.*

The chief point of their Wiſdom, appear'd in the choice of ſuch Pygmies as themſelves to fight with. The Presbyterian Learning was of a juſt ſize to match Enthuſiaſts and Phanarics: A Generation hatch'd under their wing, and when they were fledg, they ſerv'd to peck out the Eyes of their Dam, and make Paſt-time to the Spectators with their Puppet like Contentions and Diſputes.

But our Adverſaries of Rome *were too ſtrong for them to wreſtle with: or rather indeed, they were their Friends, affording them Principles to juſtifie Rebellion, and Politics, to carry on their Deſign againſt the common Enemy, The genuine*

Sons

Sons of the Church of England. Nay unto this day (with grief we speak it) they both appear to shake hands, and set their shoulders on both sides, with all their might to unhinge our Settlement and Security.

From this sad Prospect you may take the Measures of our Disadvantage. Insomuch, that if one of a thousand, against the Genius of the Times, did bend his Studies to search after Truth in the Records of Antiquity, to read the Primitive Fathers of the Church, and furnish himself with Arguments against Romes Innovations: upon his first Adventure to appear in public, he is beset with numerous Adversaries and Opponents: Some Writing against his Book, and more against his Person. They take their several Parts, as their Genius leads them, either unto Contumely or Sophistry; despairing to give satisfaction to his Arguments, they will wound his Reputation, and vex his Righteous Soul; entangle the Discourse with Subtleties and Fallacies, that so the Reader may be at a loss in such Mists which they have cast about him.

Now it is great pity they should have such leisure to send forth Legions against single Persons: were all of my mind, we would carve out more work for them. Relying upon Divine Assistance, and the merits of the Cause, let us not fear their numbers, but examin their pretensions, and we shall have encouragement enough to enter into the Lists: For Error is weak and indefensible.

Let us therefore follow the steps of our Fore-fathers, who have brought their deceitful Wares to the Light, and weighed their Motives in the Ballance, and lo! they were as inconsiderable as the dust upon the Ballance. They decline very much the Holy Scriptures, because they appear against them. They brag of Antiquity, but in those things wherein we differ, fall very short of that account. They build upon the Rock of their

Churches

Churches Infallibility; but when we manifeſt their Errors in many Particulars, it will be an accumulative Demonſtration againſt that Fundamental Article.

Now this is the Deſign in General of this Conference, to bring the Innovations of the Church of Rome *unto the Teſt of Holy Scripture, and of Venerable Antiquity: and when the Reader ſhall find her ſo much to ſwerve from the Infallible Rule, we will leave him to judg of her Infallible Spirit.*

I have taken Bellarmins *Motives principally into conſideration, becauſe he is eſteemed a Pillar, and doubtleſs ſpeaks the ſence of his Church as fully as any others, and he had a Cardinals Cap for the reward of his Polemics. And here I call the great Searcher of Hearts to witneſs, that I have not hitherto, neither hereafter will concele from the Reader any Argument which the Cardinal brings, either in his own Defence, or in oppoſition to his Adverſaries, which I judg material; for I will not prevarieate in the Cauſe of God.*

One Word more, Gentle Reader, touching the form of this Diſcourſe by way of Conference and Dialogue. Deſigning, by Gods help, to profit my Country-men, and keep their feet out of the Snare; to write for the benefit of the Vulgar, rather then of the Learned, who can help themſelves. I have made choice of this familiar way, to inſinuate Truths, and to invite and recompence the Readers patience with the Pleaſure and Divertiſement of theſe Interloculories.

And ſo I leave thee, by the Bleſſing of God,
to reap the Fruit of my Labors.

G. C.

To the Reader.

Churches Infallibility; but when we manifest their Errors in many Particulars, it will be an accumulative Demonstration against that Fundamental Article.

Now this is the Design in General of this Conference, to bring the Innovations of the Church of Rome unto the Test of Holy Scripture, and of Venerable Antiquity: and when the Reader shall find her so much to swerve from the Infallible Rule, we will leave him to judge of her Infallible Spirit.

I have taken Bellarmins Motives principally into consideration, because he is esteemed a Pillar, and doubtless speaks the sence of his Church as fully as any others, and he had a Cardinals Cap for the reward of his Poiemics. And here I call the great Searcher of Hearts to witness, that I have not hitherto, neither hereafter will concele from the Reader any Argument which the Cardinal brings, either in his own Defence, or in opposition to his Adversaries, which I judg material; for I will not prevaricate in the Cause of God.

One Word more, Gentle Reader, touching the form of this Discourse by way of Conference and Dialogue. Designing, by Gods help, to profit my Country-men, and keep their feet out of the Snare; to write for the benefit of the Vulgar, rather then of the Learned, who can help themselves. I have made choice of this familiar way, to insinuate Truths, and to invite and recompence the Readers patience with the Pleasure and Divertisement of these Interlocutories.

And so I leave thee, by the Blessing of God,
to reap the Fruit of my Labors.

G. C.

Theophilus and Philodoxus;

OR A

CONFERENCE

Between two

FRIENDS and NEIGHBORS:

One,

A true Son of the Church of *England.*

The other,

Faln off to the Church of *Rome.*

Theoph. SIR, You have of late declin'd that familiarity we have formerly maintain'd as Friends and Neighbors; and I now give you the trouble of this visit, to understand the reason.

Phil. Not for want of good will and affection (worthy *Theophilus*) have I sequester'd my self from the sweetness and advantage of your Society: nothing less, I do assure you, then the greatest concern in this World, hath for a time confin'd me to my most reserv'd and serious Thoughts and Studies; making me neglect the due Ceremonies of Friendship, whil'st I have been in pursuit after the *Unum necessarium*, the only true Religion and way of Gods Worship.

Theoph. Dear Sir, You have in few words given full security to my fears, lest some discontent had made you a Stranger: but now I will easily grant, that all other circumstances and business must give place unto the care of Religion. Are you therefore now at leisure to give your Friend an account of the success? Religious Conferences are more becoming and suitable to our Christian Profession, then the accustomed emptiness and vanity of our Communications.

Phil. Your goodness, *Theophilus*, hath given the opportunity which my heart desired, to declare *what the Lord hath done for my Soul*, in bringing back the straid Sheep to his Fold, and opening to me a door of entrance into the true Church, out of which there is no salvation, and *against which the gates of Hell cannot prevail.*

Theoph. Be pleas'd to be more particular and expreſs, that I may underſtand you.

Phil. With a very good will. I have been long wavering, and unſetled, and in the ſtudious ſearch of Truth; and now I have found the Jewel: the wandring Star is fix'd in its proper Sphere, and I am become a Convert to the Roman Catholic Church.

Theoph. It ſeems by your acknowledgment, the Church of *Rome* is the proper Sphere for wandring Stars, for ſuch as waver in the Faith. And herein I approve your Judgment: for I ever thought it impoſſible, that the thoughts of reaſonable Men could be ſetled on that foundation which *Rome* hath laid; or find any ſatisfaction in thoſe Arguments, which her great Champions do produce to confirm thoſe Points wherein we differ from her.

Phil. The prejudice, *Theophilus*, of your Education is great: and doubtleſs, you have not ſufficiently conſulted your Adverſaries, as you eſteem them, otherwiſe they would have given you ſufficient Reaſons of their Doctrine and Practice, and remov'd the Scruples and Objections you have entertain'd againſt them.

Theoph. The holy Scriptures in this caſe are the beſt Oracles to be conſulted; and withal, our Learned Writers appear to manifeſt the full conſent of Antiquity, Fathers, and Councils, within the firſt 600 Years of Chriſtianity, againſt the Innovations of the Church of *Rome*. But ſeeing your ſelf have receiv'd ſuch ſatisfaction from their Books, and from their Priests, as to become a Proſelyte to *Rome*; I pray be ingenious and free, to communicate and impart your new diſcoveries unto your Friend.

Phil. The rule of Friendſhip and of Charity obliging, I am much devoted to this good ſervice, and moſt willing to lead ſuch a Friend and Neighbor in the way of Truth and Holineſs.

Theoph. You ſuppoſe the new way, wherein you have lately choſe to walk, to be the right; and it will much concern you to make it plain, and remove thoſe ſtumbling-blocks and rocks of Scandal which lye therein, before you can expect that I ſhould follow you.

Phil. Engage, *Theophilus*, that you will not ſtumble at ſtraws, and I will undertake to remove all other Obſtacles out of your way.

Theoph. I ſhall not deſign to trifle in a ſerious Diſcourſe, and therefore will propoſe only ſuch Objections againſt your new way, as I judg material.

Phil. Upon this condition I am ready to anſwer.

Theoph. I will firſt give you in ſuch Exceptions which are obvious unto the meaneſt Underſtanding, and wherewith your ſelf was much diſſatisfied, before your new diſcoveries; *viz.* 1. With the Latin Service of the Church of *Rome*. 2. With her half Communion. 3. With her worſhipping of Images.

Phil. I muſt confeſs theſe things gave great offence unto me, before I was better inform'd; but now I can give a reaſon of the Churches practice, and anſwer your Objections againſt it.

Theoph.

Theoph. We will therefore take them in their order into conſideration. Firſt, The Church of *Rome*, where ſhe hath Autority, requires the public Offices of Praier and of the Sacraments, to be performed in the Latin Tongue, altho it be unknown and not underſtood by the common people: and this is contrary unto the reveled will of God in Holy Scripture, and to the great end of public Praier.

Phil. Make your Arguments and Proofs, and I will anſwer them.

Theoph. St *Paul*, in that known paſſage to the *Corinthians*, 1 *Cor.* 14. ſpeaks expreſly to this point, that in the Church and public Aſſemblies of the Saints, *All things ſhould be don to edification*, ver. 12. and *that he that preacheth or propheſieth, ſhould utter words eaſie to be underſtood by the hearers*, that it may be known what is ſpoken; otherwiſe he ſpeaketh into the air: ver. 9. and *if I know not the meaning of the voice* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *I ſhall be unto him that ſpeaketh a Barbarian, and he that ſpeaketh ſhall be a Barbarian unto me*, ver. 11.

Phil. We grant that Homilies and Sermons ſhould be made to the People in a known Tongue, that they may underſtand and receive inſtruction.

Theoph. The ſame reaſon holds for Praiers and Spiritual Hymns and Benedictions: that the People, who are oblig'd to be preſent, and to hold Communion in the Praiers of the Church, ſhould underſtand them. For St *Paul* in the ſame Chapter ſaith expreſly: *He that praieth in an unknown tongue* (that is, unknown to himſelf) *his underſtanding is unfruitful*, ver. 14. and therefore, ſaith he, *I will pray and ſing with the Spirit, and with underſtanding alſo*, ver. 15. and he immediatly adds, *when thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit* (that is, with ſuch a Tongue as the Holy Ghoſt hath by an extraordinary gift enabled thee to ſpeak) how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, *ſay Amen at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified*, ver. 16, 17. and therefore he declares, That altho he had the gift of *Tongues more then they all, yet in the Church he had rather ſpeak five words with his underſtanding, that by his voice he might teach others alſo, then ten thouſand words in an unknown Tongue.*

Phil. You are not ignorant how the Learned have ſufficiently anſwered all theſe Arguments taken out of this Chapter.

Theoph. That they have not ſufficiently anſwered them, I know full well; and that it is impoſſible they ſhould. I pray impart that ſatisfaction which they have given you.

Phil. Bellarmine, Tom. 1. *Lib.* 2. *De verbo Dei, cap.* 16. plainly ſhews, That the Apoſtle in this Chapter doth not ſpeak of the common Forms of Praier, and Hymns of praiſe, but of ſome particular Praiers and Benedictions, which by the gift of the Spirit, by immediate Inſpiration, ſome were enabled to ſpeak in a Tongue unknown to moſt of the hearers, and ſometimes not underſtood by themſelves.

Theoph. How doth he prove the firſt part of his Anſwer, that the

Apoſtle in that Chapter doth not ſpeak of public Praiers and Benedictions, and reading of the Scriptures. For theſe are his words, *Vera ſententia eſt, Apoſtolum hoc loco non agere de divinis Officiis, nec de publica Scripturarum Lectione.*

Phil. He proves it thus. Becauſe, ſaith he, out of doubt the *Corinthians* had the Scriptures read in the Church in Greek, and the Divine Service in the ſame Tongue which they underſtood. *Scripturæ ſine dubio legebantur Græce, & Divina Officia fiebant græce in Græcia. Ibid de verbo Dei, cap.* 16.

Theoph. This we readily grant, and make no more doubt of it then himſelf. *Corinth* was an eminent City in *Greece*, and the Greek was the vulgar Tongue with them, and therefore doubtleſs all their public Service was in that Tongue, underſtood by all. And becauſe the Apoſtle would alwaies have it ſo, in this Chapter he forbids every one to diſturb that good edifying way of the Church; That none ſhould pray or bleſs in public, or ſpeak in an unknown Tongue, becauſe thereby the People, who did not underſtand the Language, could not be edified. But that which *Bellarmine* puts out of all doubt, and we eaſily grant, That the *Corinthians* had their public offices of Praier and reading of the Scriptures in Greek, I pray, obſerve well how he proves it. *Græce in Græcia*, therefore they had their Service in Greek, becauſe they were Grecians. And the Argument concludes alike for every Country, that doubtleſs they had their public Service and Worſhip of God in their own Language. *Græce in Græcia*, and *Anglice in Anglia*; becauſe they were Grecians, they had theirs in Greek; and becauſe we are Engliſhmen, we have ours in Engliſh: and ſo every Country in their own Tongue. For ſet aſide the reaſon of this Chapter, That St *Paul* requires the public Service ſhould be in the vulgar Tongue, to the end that all the People may underſtand and be edified, and be able to ſay, Amen, (and *Bellarmine* could never prove what he takes for granted, That the *Corinthians* had their Divine Service in Greek:) by his leave, the Chapter ſhall ſerve our turn as well as theirs; That, according to the Apoſtles general rule, in *England* we ſhould ſerve God in Engliſh.

Phil. But you will find how *Bellarmine* puts a vaſt difference between the firſt Age of Chriſtianity, and thoſe which followed. Chriſtians were then few, and in their Aſſemblies they ſang Hymns together, and had their parts and mutual reſponds in the Divine Service, and ſo it was then neceſſary that all the People ſhould underſtand the common Service, that they might readily join therein, and make their anſwers. But when the multitude of Believers encreaſed, the Offices were divided, and the Common Praiers and Hymns in the Church were left only to the Prieſt to be perform'd: for ſo run his Words, *Diviſa ſunt Officia, & ſolis Clericis reliſtum eſt, ut communes preces & laudes in Eccleſia peragant. Ib. de verbo Dei, c.* 16. And therefore it ſufficeth, that the Prieſt underſtand the public Offices, who preſents the public Praiers unto God as the mouth of all the Congregation.

Theoph.

Theoph. It was no fair diviſion between them, when all was left only to the Prieſt. But have the People then no part nor ſhare in the Divine Service and public Praier?

Phil. Yes, the Prieſt, as the mouth of the People, praies to God for them, and offereth up the Sacrifice of the Maſs on their behalf.

Theoph. So he doth for ſuch as are abſent, and for the dead; and therefore why doth the Church ſo ſtrictly oblige every one to be preſent at public Service, more eſpecially at the Maſs, upon every Feſtival, under the guilt of Mortal Sin? as we may read in the Caſuiſts, particularly in *Martin Aſpilqueta*, the famous Doctor of *Navar*, in his *Enchiridion* or manual of Confeſſion, *chap.* 21. *Parag.* 1.

Phil. Becauſe the People of God have great advantages by their preſence at ſuch public Offices, therefore are they oblig'd by the Precept of the Church to afford their preſence: For many do underſtand the Praiers of the Church; and ſuch as do not, may pray with the Spirit, altho not with their underſtanding.

Theoph. But Saint *Paul* ſaith, *He will pray with the Spirit, and with underſtanding alſo.* And I know not what you underſtand by your expreſſion of praying with the Spirit, and not with the underſtanding. The heart cannot pray or ſing except it underſtand: For *Intellectus eſt ſonus cordis*, the voice or ſound of the heart is the underſtanding, ſaith St *Auguſtin*, in the 8th *Tome*, in his Expoſition upon the 99 *Pſalm.* And he quotes a Text out of the 89. *Pſalm, ver.* 15. *Beatus populus qui ſcit jubilationem, Bleſſed is the people that know the joiful ſound, or jubile. O let us run after this bleſſedneſs, let us underſtand what we ſing*: (as he proceeds in the Exhortation) *To what purpoſe is it to ſing and not to underſtand; that our voice ſhould chant, without the heart?*

Phil. Such as frequent the public Service, may ſoon learn by obſervation when to Confeſs, when to Adore, what to Anſwer, when to Stand, when to Kneel, when to ſay, Amen: For the Prieſt pronounceth the laſt clauſe of his Praiers, *Per Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, Thro Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*, with a more audible and ſolemn Tone, that the People may have warning given to ſay, Amen. He elevates the Hoſt above his head, when the People muſt fall down and worſhip it. And the Reſponſals are ſhort and eaſily learn'd. Nay, thoſe ſecret Praiers in the Maſs, which the Prieſt is enjoin'd to utter with a ſilent murmur, they conclude alwaies with this clauſe, *Per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum* (throughout all Ages and Generations) which words the Prieſt muſt pronounce with a loud voice, that the People preſent may ſay, Amen. *Sic finiunt omnes Orationes ſecretas, per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum; quæ quidem verba, licet Orationes ipſæ tacito quodam ſilentio fuerint recitatæ, altâ voce proferuntur, ut populus aſtans reſpondere poſſit, Amen.* *Azorius Inſtitutionum moralium*, lib. 10. cap. 34.

Theoph. Alas! theſe you ſpeak of are Circumſtances, not the ſubſtance of Divine Service: when, not, what. I pray tell me what benefit will it be to me, if I know when the Prieſt makes a Praier of Confeſſion,

when

when I cannot join with him in that Confeſſion, becauſe I underſtand not what he ſaith. And for anſwering Amen to Praiers which we underſtand not, the Apoſtle ſaith, we cannot do it, 1 Cor 14. 16. *How ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſaieſt?* And as the People actually join in the Divine Service with the Prieſt, in the Reſponſals, and ſaying, Amen; ſo ſhould they intentionally and cordially accompany him in every Praier and Benediction thro-out the Service. And the Prieſt is enjoin'd often to exhort the People ſo to do, ſaying, *Oremus, Let us pray.* I demand therefore, whether by this Exhortation, *Let us pray*, the Prieſt calls upon the People to join with him in the common Praiers which he then publicly makes to God, or only gives warning to every one preſent to put up his private Petitions to the Almighty, whil'ſt he himſelf makes public Praiers for them all?

Phil. Doubtleſs, he exhorts the people to join with him in the common Praiers of the Church, otherwiſe there would be no Communion in the Service; neither could the people be all ready together to ſay Amen to the public Praiers, if they were permitted and exhorted every one to make his private Praier unto God, at the ſame ſeaſon.

Theoph. You have ſaid well, and ſhew'd very good reaſon, why we ſhould conceive that the Prieſt, ſaying, *Let us pray*, exhorts the people to join with him in the public Praier. But when we ſhall read the Caſuiſts upon this Point, and obſerve the general practice of the Church of *Rome*, we may alter our Judgment. *Navarrus* the famous Caſuiſt before mentioned, determins the caſe, in the 21. Chapter of his *Enchiridion*, the 8th Paragraph, *Poteſt quis eodem tempore ſatisfacere præcepto de audienda Miſſa, & de dicendis horis Canonicis, aut aliis votis juratis, vel in pœnitentia injunctis, modò non adeo unirei intendat, ut alteri neceſſariam intentionem adimat.* A Man may ſatisfie the Precept of the Church to hear Maſs, and at the ſame time repete his Canonical hours, or other parts of private duty, whereunto he hath obliged himſelf by Vow, or hath bin enjoined by his Confeſſor; if ſo be the performance of the one, doth not hinder the due execution of the other.

Phil. But how conceive you that can be, ſeeing his private Offices of Praier muſt needs interrupt his due intention unto the public.

Theoph. He ſhews you how. *Quia nemo tenetur ex præcepto audire, & minus intelligere verba Sacerdotis: quia ſatis eſt è longinquo Miſſæ intereſſe, & actualiter, vel intentionaliter, exoptare ut Sacerdos à Deo audiatur, qui pro omnibus loquitur, orat & ſacrificat.* By the Precept of hearing Maſs (ſaith he) no Man is oblig'd to hear, much leſs to underſtand the words of the Prieſt: for it ſufficeth to be preſent at a great diſtance from him that officiates, and actually or virtually, to wiſh that the Lord would pleaſe to encline his ears unto the praiers of the Prieſt, by reaſon of his far diſtance, or becauſe the Prieſt ſpeaks with a ſubmiſs and whiſpering voice (as he is ſometimes enjoin'd) or when himſelf is deaf, or the like: and he might well have added one cauſe more, when the public Offices

are

are not understood, being perform'd in an unknown Tongue. I have singled out this great Oracle of his Age, as one for all; who was consulted about Casuistical Solutions from all parts of the Western Church, and set forth this *Enchiridion*, or Manual of Confessors, after many previous Editions, revised and perfected in the 90th Year of his Life, as himself declares in his Epistle Dedicatory to Pope *Gregory* the 13th. And hereunto exactly suits the practice of their Church: The people are solicitous to afford their presence at Mass in their solemn Feasts, but it matters not at what distance from the High Altar they place themselves; for if they hear the Praiers, yet generally they understand them not, and therefore they apply themselves, some to Auricular Confession in corners of the Temple, unto the Priests they have made choice of: others mumble over their bead-role of Praiers which they have bin enjoin'd by way of Penance: others, who had not leisure to pay their Morning Devotions at home, recollect them in the Church, only when the Mass-Priest with a loud voice concludes the Praiers, they are accustom'd to answer, Amen; and when he elevates the Host, they have warning given them to Adore and Worship.

Phil. You may reckon these as personal abuses and corruptions against the pious intention of the Church in her public Offices.

Theoph. They are too general, to be accounted personal. And it is evident, the public Service being not understood, the great Doctors of the Church judg it reasonable, and charitable to allow the people their private Devotions in the Church; and therefore it is a mockery for the Priest to exhort the people to pray with him, when they understand not his Praiers, and are permitted to pray by themselves.

Phil. The opinion of private Doctors, or the corrupt practice of private persons, is insignificant. Shew the Authority of the Church for this permission.

Theoph. I shew how the Church gives the occasion by performing the Service in an unknown Tongue: for if the people must join in common Praier with the Priest, they must understand it, that they may devoutly and affectionately discharge the duty together with him.

Phil. However, I have shewed you before how the Priest is the mouth of the people, putting up the common Supplications, and offering up the great Sacrifice of Christ unto the Father in the Mass for them.

Theoph. And so the people are excluded, and in vain invited to join in Praier with the Priest; and there is no communion in the Service, which your self, not long before, acknowledg'd to be an absurdity. And you will find the Primitive Fathers of the Church speaking expresly to this point, Of the peoples joining with the Priest in public Praier, and of the efficacy of such Praiers as more available with God, when the Congregation with one heart and voice did make their common Supplications, and sing Praises to him. *Tertullian*, in the 39th Chapter of his excellent Apology for Christians, resembles them, when assembled together in common Praier, *unto an Army, manu factâ*, as he speaks,

making

making an aſſault upon the God of Heaven, and by a Sacred Violence wreſting Conceſſions from him. Hæc vis Deo grata, This is an acceptable force to the Almighty. St. *Baſil* compares them *unto the ruſhing of many Waters*, in his *Hexameron*, the 4th *Homily. If the Sea* (ſaith he) *be beautiful in the ſight of God, how much more is ſuch an aſſembly of the Church as we have here, in which the mingled ſound of Men, Women, and Children, making their common Praiers, aſcendeth unto our God, as the noiſe of Waves beating againſt the Banks.* S. *Ambroſe* inſiſts upon the ſame Metaphor, in his *Hexameron*, the 3d Book and firſt Chapter. *Bene mari comparatur Eccleſia in Oratione totius plebis, &c. Appoſitly may the Church be compared to the Sea, when all the multitude in their Praiers make a noiſe like the flowing Waves; and in the Reſponſals of the Pſalms, and in the Hymns of Men, Women, Virgins and Children.* S. Chryſoſtom ſhews, how the people in the public Praiers contribute much to ſuch as are poſſeſt, and to the Penitents. *For the Praiers of the Prieſt and of the People* (ſaith he) *are common. All ſay the ſame Prayer:* κοινὴ ἡ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ ἡ τοῦ λαοῦ εὐχὴ γίνεται αἱ εὐχαὶ, ἡ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχήν. *Homil. 18. in ſecundum Epiſtolam ad Corinth.* With what ſhew of reaſon therefore can ye exclude the people from underſtanding the public Service, and joining with the Prieſt therein.

Phil. This courſe you have mention'd out of Antiquity, continued not many Ages in the Church.

Theoph. For 600 Years, as appears by *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis, Lib. 1°. de Eccleſiaſt. Officiis, cap. 10.* Oportet ut quando Pſallitur, *pſallatur ab omnibus, cum oratur, oretur ab omnibus, &c. It is neceſſary that this rule ſhould be obſerved in Church Service, that when they ſing, All ſhould ſing; when they pray, all ſhould pray; when the Leſſon is read, All being ſilent ſhould hear. And therefore the Deacon with a loud voice commandeth ſilence; that whether they ſing, or the Scriptures be read, unity be preſerved, and that which is ſpoken to all, ſhould be heard of all.*

Phil. But the general practice of the Church prevails with ſober Men againſt all Teſtimonies whatever.

Theoph. What is the general practice of the Church?

Phil. In every Nation under Heaven, to have the public Service in one of the three Sacred Languages. In *Hebrew, Greek*, or *Latin.*

Theoph. Is one Language holier then another?

Phil. Not in it ſelf, but in the effect; becauſe the Holy Ghoſt choſe to communicate unto the World the Holy Scriptures in theſe three Languages.

Theoph. You have made an ill Argument for the Latin Tongue: for I do not find that any part of Gods Word was originally written in Latin.

Phil. Yes, *Bellarmine* aſſerts it. [a] *Let us be content* (ſaith he) *with thoſe three Tongues which Chriſt hath honored with the Title of his Croſs, and which excel all others in Antiquity, amplitude, and gravity, and wherein the*

[a] *Bell. Tom. 1. l. 2. de verbo Dei, cap. 15.*

Holy

Holy Scriptures were first written by their Authors. [b] And he brings a great Autority for the proof, even *Hilary* in his Preface to his Commentary upon the Psalms. [c] *In these three Tongues the mystery of the will of God, and the expectation of the kingdom, is publish'ed.*

Theoph. This Testimony of *Hilary* comes not home to the point; he saith, In quibus prædicatur, *In which three Tongues the Gospel was preach'd*, not in which they were first written. And altho *Bellarmine* here be positive, yet in the same Chapter afterwards he speaks doubtfully of the Latin Tongue. [d] *They did write the Gospels and Epistles only in Hebrew and Greek, and, as some will have it, in Latin. For there are some who conceive that Saint* Mark *did write his Gospel at* Rome *in Latin, and afterwards translated it into the Greek Tongue.* And for the proof, he first sends us to Pope *Damasus* his Pontifical, his Book of the Lives of all the Popes his Predecessors in the See of *Rome*; where in the Life of *Peter* we are told, [e] *That* Peter *wrote two Epistles, and the Gospel of Saint* Mark; *for* Mark *was his Disciple, and his adopted Son from his Baptism.* Now if *Peter* did write that Gospel, as this Testimony asserts, how is it call'd the Gospel of St *Mark*, more then the other two Canonical Epistles? And yet so far we have nothing said concerning the Tongue wherein *Mark* did write his Gospel: but it immediatly follows, *Post omnem quatuor Evangeliorum fontem, quæ ad interrogationem & testimonium Petri firmata sunt, dum alius Græce, alius Hebraice, alius Latine scribentes consonant, omnia ejus Testimonio sunt firmata.* A piece of Latin which I cannot make sense of; only we may guess the meaning. *That by* Peters *Testimony all the four Gospels were confirm'd, and confirm'd* (for the greater confirmation of *Peter*'s supreme Autority, the word *firmata* is, without sense, twice inserted) *while one of the Evangelists writing in Greek, another in Hebrew, another in Latin, they all were consonant.* Now by this wise Enumeration there were but three Evangelists, one writing in Greek, another in Hebrew, and another in Latin; in what Tongue the fourth Evangelist did write, must be reserv'd as a secret in due time to be reveled, when *France* or *Spain*, or some other Catholic Prince (as they will have it) hath attain'd an Universal Monarchy, and then the Language of his Country shall be adopted into the Sacred Number.

Phil. I must confess, this passage in the life of *Peter* is set down something imperfectly, we may suppose an Error in the Printing.

Theoph. The whole deserves a *deleatur*. For how could *Peter* by his supreme Autority confirm the four Evangelists, when it is generally acknowledged that *John* wrote his Gospel long after *Peters* Martyrdom under *Nero*, even in the Reign of *Nerva* Emperor of *Rome*, who releas'd

[b] *Quibus ipsi libri divini ab Autoribus suis initio scripti fuerunt:*

[c] *His tribus linguis Sacramentum voluntatis dei, & beati Regni expectatio prædicatur.*

[d] *Ut quidam volunt Latine, &c.*

[e] *Hic scripsit duas Epistolas, quæ Canonicæ nominantur, & Evangel. Marci, &c.*

him of his baniſhment in *Patmos*, whither *Domitian* had condemn'd him. *John returning to* Epheſus, *upon the perſwaſion of the* Aſian *Biſhops, did write his Goſpel againſt* Cerinthus, *and* Ebion; *and other Heretics, who denied Chriſts Divinity* [a]. But in truth, this Pontifical is by themſelves accounted ſpurious, and falſly aſcrib'd to *Damaſus*, as *Binius* aſſerts in the firſt Tome of his Edition of the Councils, in a Note before *Peter's* Life. [b] Damaſus *is not the Author of this Pontifical; for almoſt in the Life of every Pope, It contains things repugnant one to another.* And he quotes *Baronius* and *Poſſevinus* for his Judgment. Now we may eaſily believe *Bellarmine* was too great a Scholar, not to diſcover the Impoſture and the Contradictions of the Book, yet after his uſual courſe, when a Teſtimony makes for him, he will take it, altho himſelf be not ignorant of the forgery.

Phil. You find *Bellarmine* in that place brings other Authors to prove *Mark* did write his Goſpel in Latin, *Adrianus Finus*, and *Antonius Beuter*.

Theoph. Writers ſo obſcure, that I cannot find their Books; and *Tirinus* a Jeſuit, [c] in his *Index Autorum*, ſhews the firſt to be a Writer of the laſt Century, making no mention of the ſecond.

Phil. Baronius likewiſe affirms, that *Mark* wrote his Goſpel in Latin; and proves it, becauſe he was, as *Jerome* calls him, *Peter's Interpreter*, and did write for the uſe and benefit of the *Romans*, as *Nazianzen* affirms, [d] Μάρκος ὁ Ἀποστόλων Θεῶ τὸ δι' ἑρμηνέως ἱερωθείς, and therefore probably he wrote in the Latin Tongue.

Theoph. You may urge the ſame Argument, that *Paul* did write his Epiſtle to the Romans in Latin.

Phil. But *Baronius* obſerves likewiſe, ſome Latin words adopted into the Greek Copy of St *Mark's* Goſpel [e]: which makes it more then probable, that the Greek Copy was tranſlated out of the Latin.

Theoph. This Criticiſm will not help him: for we find Δηνάριον in all the other Evangeliſts, *Matth.* 18. 28. *Luke* 17. 41. *John* 6. 7. We find many other Latin Words in the Greek Teſt. σπεκουλάτωρ, *Act.* 19. 12. (and yet St *Luke* is obſerv'd, of all the ſacred Writers, to write the pureſt Greek) λεγιὼν, *Matth.* 26. 53. And [f] *Benedictus Juſtinianus* a Jeſuit, derides this Argument, inſtancing in many other Words of the like nature, Μάκελλον, Κῆνσον, μεμβράνας, ἀξόνας, πέκτορα, &c. Leaving therefore theſe critical and new Diſcoveries, will you hear what St *Jerome* and *Auguſtin*,

[a] *Hug. Tom. 9. Præfatione in Joannem, Recepiſſe Dominum, cum permittente Nerva in exilio reddiſſet, compulſus ab Epiſc. Aſiæ, &c.*

[b] *Hujus libri Pontifex Damaſus author non eſt, quod in unoquoq; fere Pontifice pugnantia continet.*

[c] Adrianus Finus *Ferrarienſis edidit Flagellum Judæorum, An.* 1537.

[d] Nazianzen. *in carmin. de 4. Evangeliis.*

[e] Δηναρίων. *cap.* 6. *ver.* 37. & σπεκουλάτορες, *ver.* 27.

[f] *In Comment. in Epiſt.* 1. *ad Cor. cap.* 10. *ver.* 25.

two Latin Fathers, ſay to this point? [a] *I ſpeak not of the New Teſtament, which without doubt is all Greek, except the Goſpel of* Matthew, *which he firſt ſet forth in* Judea *in the Hebrew Tongue.* *Auguſtin* affirm's the ſame. [b] *Of theſe four Evangeliſts, only* Matthew *is ſaid to write in Hebrew*; ceteri Græco eloquio, *the others in the Greek Tongue.* To theſe accord many of their own Writers. [c] *Sixtus Senenſis* ſaith expreſly, Mark *wrote a brief Goſpel in the Greek Tongue.* And you may obſerve by this paſſage, and many others, how *Baronius* and *Bellarmine*, two great Pillars of the Roman See, little regard the Teſtimony of the Fathers when it croſſeth their great deſign, to advance the reputation of the Church of *Rome*. However, I preſume it appears by what you have heard, that no part of the Holy Scripture was written in Latine originally, and therefore the Latine Tongue in that reſpect is not Sacred, and to have the preheminence above others.

Phil. But in the fore-mention'd place, *Bellarmine* inſtanceth in other *excellencies of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latine, above all others, in antiquity, amplitude, and gravity* [d].

Theoph. For the Antiquity of the Roman Language, let the Grammarians diſcourſe it. For the amplitude and univerſality thereof, I acknowledg, that it did ſpread far with the Roman Conqueſts, eſpecially in the Weſtern Empire, which was call'd, *Orbis Latinus*; ſo that it became the vulgar Tongue unto many Nations. In *Africa* we have thoſe Noble Orators, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, living in *Carthage*, writing Tracts and Epiſtles in Latine unto all ſorts; unto Men and Women, Lay and Clergy: which ſhews, that Language was then vulgarly underſtood. *Tertullian* wrote two Books to his Wife in Latine. A third, *De habitu muliebri*. A fourth, *De cultu feminarum*, unto Women. A fifth to Virgins, *De veland. Virginibus*. *Cyprian* writes his familiar Epiſtles to the Martyrs, and divers others; many of them of the common people. *Auguſtin*, Biſhop of *Hippo* in *Africa*, made all his Homilies and Lectures unto the people of his Congregation in Latine, and therefore that Language was commonly underſtood: (for your ſelf acknowledged, that we ought to Preach in a known Language to the People) nay, he expreſly tells us, [e] *That being willing the Donatiſts cauſe might be underſtood, even by the unlearned, and vulgar ſort of People, he compoſed a Pſalm according to the Latine Alphabet, to be ſung by all the people,* wherein *the choice Heads of their Schiſmatical pretentions were contain'd.* The Pſalm

[a] Jer. *in Præfati. in 4. Evangeliſtas. De novo Teſtam. non loquor*, &c.

[b] Aug. *Tom. 4. l. 1. De conſenſu Evangeliſtarum, cap. 2.*

[c] *Biblioth. l. 1. Breve græco ſermone ſcripſit Evangelium.*

[d] Bell. *l. 2. de verbo Dei, cap. 15. Omnium conſenſu hæ aliis præſtant antiquitate, amplitudine & gravitate.*

[e] *Lib. 1. Retract. cap. 20. Volens cauſam Donatiſtarum ad ipſius humillimi vulgi, & imperitorum atque idiotarum notitiam pervenire, pſalmum qui ab iis cantaretur per latinas literas feci. Ipſe pſalmus habetur, Tom. 1. cap. 1.*

begins thus, [a] *Omnes qui gaudetis, &c.* The Latine Tongue therefore, was become as the vulgar in *Africa*; and ſo the Learned ſhew of many Countries in *Europe*, by reaſon of the Roman Conqueſts and Colonies, which for brevity I omit. But in after Ages, thro the Incurſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and *Lombards*, *Gauls* and *Sarazens* into the Weſtern Empire, there aroſe a great change and variety of Languages, inſomuch that neither in *Italy* it ſelf, nor in any other Country, did the people underſtand the Latine Tongue; and therefore the Argument of Univerſality for that Tongue now ceaſeth. For the Gravity of the Latine Tongue, wherein that conſiſts, I do not underſtand: and when *Kemnitius* urg'd (as we do) that the Latine was neither more ſacred nor venerable then other Tongues, [b] *Bellarmine* acknowledges it to be true, *if we conſider the words themſelves; but the Latine is more grave and venerable, becauſe it is not the vulgar Tongue.* Which anſwer of *Bellarmine*, if it hath any ſhew of Truth and Reaſon, doth as well prove the Engliſh Tongue to be more grave and venerable in *France* and *Spain*, *&c.* then their own proper Tongues, becauſe unto them it is not the vulgar Tongue. And yet this is one of his ſpecial Arguments which he urgeth, why the Majeſty of Divine Service and public Offices ſhould be in the Latine Tongue, which is not underſtood, becauſe it requires a *more grave & venerable Language, then are the vulgar Tongues of every Country* [c]. We ſee wiſe and learned Men, in the defence of palpable Errors, ſomtimes are put to ſhifts, and urge Arguments of no weight and conſequence, to amuſe only Children and Fools. For ought therefore that hath bin offer'd to prove it, the Latine Tongue appears not to be more grave and venerable then others.

Phil. Here hath been a long digreſſion to no purpoſe.

Theoph. Confer notes, and you will find it pertinent to the preſent buſineſs, and it will be uſeful to other purpoſes hereafter.

Phil. I cannot divine what will be your future intendments, neither can you deny the Latine Tongue, to be the common Language in *Europe*, better underſtood then any other, at leaſt by the Learned: ſo that with that Tongue you may travel into all parts, and meet with many who underſtand it.

Theoph. It is believed of late, the French Tongue will carry us farther then the Latine: but what Inference will you make, if we grant your *Poſtulatum*, that the Latine is the moſt communicating Language underſtood by the Learned in every Country.

Phil. It is moſt agreeable to the Communion of Saints in all parts of the World, that public Praier ſhould be made, *in lingua communiſſima*, as

[a] *Ipſe Pſalmus habetur, Tom. 7. cap. 1.*

[b] *Non dicimus eam graviorem aut ſanctiorem ſi verba ſpectemus, ſed hoc ipſo eſſe graviorem & magis venerandam quod non ſit vulgaris. Lib. 2. de ver. Dei, cap. 15. ad finem.*

[c] *Ibidem. Videtur omnino majeſtas divin. offic requirere linguam magis gravem & venerandam, quam ſunt illæ quibus vulgo utimur.*

Bel-

Bellarmine ſpeaks, [a] *In that Language which will moſt communicate with other Nations and Churches; that when Strangers and Travellers come among us, ſome of them may underſtand our Service, and join with us therein: otherwiſe, neither the learned nor unlearned will ever come to Church, but in their own Country.*

Theoph. This is an Argument of great charity towards Foreigners, and of little regard to Natives: that the Service of the Church ſhould be at home in an unknown Language, in Latine, to the end that Strangers when they travel in any Country may underſtand, ſome of them, the Service, and ſo be encouraged to come to Church. And in truth this Argument concludes for us, that public Praier ſhould alwaies be in known and vulgar Tongues; for if Foreigners will not come to Church if they underſtand not the Service, for the ſame reaſon our Countrymen will not come to Church, if the Service ſhould be perform'd in an unknown Tongue.

Phil. However, the Latine Tongue hath had long poſſeſſion thro-out the Weſtern Church in the Divine Service of every Country, until ſome new Maſters and Reformers in divers places did thruſt it out; and the general practice of the Church ſhould much prevail with ſober Men. [b] St *Auguſtin* ſaith, *It is moſt inſolent madneſs to diſpute whether that ſhould be don, which the Church thro-out the whole World doth practice.*

Theoph. I have ſhew'd you how the Service of God, in an unknown Tongue, is contrary to Gods Word. [c] And *Auguſtin* in the ſame Epiſtle, immediatly before this Quotation of yours, had concluded, *That if the Holy Scriptures have preſcrib'd what is to be don, it is not to be doubted but we muſt do as we read and are directed.* Again, I have ſhew'd how the Service in an unknown Tongue is contrary to the great end of public Praier, wherein all the People of God ſhould join with heart, and affection, and underſtanding, and devotion, putting an acceptable force upon the Almighty, by the fervency and importunity of the whole Congregation. I have likewiſe occaſionally ſhew'd before, how the Latine Tongue was propagated with the Roman Conqueſts by their Colonies, and in time became even vulgarly known in many parts of the Weſtern Empire: but upon the Inundation of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, &c. And upon the decay of the Roman Empire, the Roman Tongue every where gave place to the Conqueror, and now there is no Nation or People in the World who generally underſtand it. Now then, ſeeing the Latine Service was in uſe in divers Countries, becauſe it was vulgarly underſtood; and for that reaſon only, as we may well ſuppoſe, the caſe being ſo apparently alter'd, and no common People now underſtanding the Latine Tongue, it ought in every Country to give place to that Lan-

[a] *Ibidem. Alias tolletur communicatio Eccleſiarum*, &c.

[b] *Epiſtola* 118. *Si quid horum per orbem frequentat Eccleſia, quin ita ſit faciendum diſputare inſolentiſ. inſania.*

[c] *Si divinæ ſcrip. præſcribit autoritas non eſt diſputandum*, &c.

guage

guage which is underſtood. And it is the inſufferable Tyranny of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, ſo ſtrictly to keep up the old cuſtom of Latine Service in ſeveral Countries, when the reaſon of the firſt poſſeſſion ceaſeth, and the Language is not underſtood. And therefore in this caſe *Auguſtin* ſhall give an Anſwer to himſelf: [a] *I anſwer plainly*, ſaith he, *who doubteth, but that cuſtom muſt yield unto apparent truth?*

Phil. If any Nation find it a grievance, they may peaceably apply themſelves to the Pope and his Cardinals, or to a General Council, and without doubt may have Indulgence and leave granted to have the Service in their own Tongue. For ſo I read, how *Cyril* an Hermit, who was a great Inſtrument under God, to convert *Moravia* to the Faith of the Goſpel; having firſt inſtructed and Baptized *Suatocopius* their King (who was overcome in a fignal Battle by *Arnolphus* the Emperor, and liv'd an Exile in the Wilderneſs:) [b] The Hiſtory ſhews how this *Cyril* went to *Rome*, and earneſtly ſollicited the Pope, that in Divine Service he might uſe the *Sclavonian* Tongue, which was in *Moravia* the vulgar, and it was granted.

Theoph. But why do you concele the moſt memorable Paſſage of the Story, namely, That when *Cyrils* requeſt met with great oppoſition in the ſacred Senate of Cardinals, a voice was heard as from Heaven, ſaying, [c] *Let every one that hath breath praiſe the Lord, and let every Tongue confeſs unto him.* And ſo they were in that Senate miraculouſly convinc'd of the Truth now controverted between us, That every Nation ſhould ſerve God, and praiſe him in their own Tongue, even in the public Service. Now you cannot deny the Story to be credible, ſeeing your ſelf have made uſe of the firſt part; and it was written by a famous Cardinal, who was afterwards choſen Pope. But as for Encouragements to ask leave, we ſhall find very few. For in the next Century, *Hildebrand*, a furious and turbulent Pope, known by the name of *Gregory* the 7th, flatly denied the ſame Requeſt made by the Duke of Bohemia, *Vratiſlaus*, in the behalf of his Subjects. And whereas in moſt of their Churches the People had before taken the liberty to uſe their own Language in the public Service, the Pope ſtrictly inhibits it by the Autority of *Peter*, *giving the Duke a charge for the honor of the Omnipotent God, with all his power, to reſiſt ſuch a vain and raſh attemt.* And the lower we deſcend in Church Hiſtory, the more ſtiff we find the See of *Rome* to make any Conceſſions unto the People. The Immunities of the Clergy muſt be enlarged, and the Laics kept under a blind obedience; and to this end, their little or no underſtanding of Gods Worſhip, and of the Myſteries

[a] *De Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas, lib. 3. cap. 6. Plane reſpondeo quis dubitet veritati manifeſtæ debere conſuetudinem cedere.*

[b] *Æneas Sylvius, hiſt. Bohemica, cap. 13.*

[c] *Omnis ſpiritus laudet Deum, & omnis lingua confiteatur ei. Ib. ad finem capitis.*

[d] *Binius, part. 1ma. 7 Tom. Conc. l 6. Epiſtolarum Greg. Papæ 7. Epiſtola 11. Ne fiat quod à veſtris impiud. expoſcitur autorit. beati Petri in hibemus, &c.*

of

of Religion, and of the Holy Scriptures, is very subservient.

Phil. You are proud, and of a Schismatical Spirit, and so pretend great difficulties to excuse good manners.

Theoph. It is the usual course with Men of your Church to supply their defect of Arguments and Reason with railing: I have all this while wondred at your patience, but you have not bin long acquainted with their waies. But in answer to your reproof, I will tell you, It is no part of good manners, to ask leave to serve God in that way which he hath prescrib'd, with the heart, and with the lips, and with understanding also. [a] St *Augustin* tells us, *Indulgence is given to such things as are not lawful in themselves.* Prove it unlawful to understand our Praiers, and we will ask your leave to do so. And that we do not pretend difficulties, is manifest: for your Church is so far from allowing the public Service in a known Tongue, that it scarce permits any to use their own Language in their private Devotions; training up their Proselytes, Men, Women, and Children, to say their *Pater noster*, the Creed, the Penitential Psalms, their *Ave Maries* in Latine; and so like Parrots, they are taught to speak what they understand not in particular; to utter broken Latine, and many Incongruities; the intention of heart and mind all the while being not determin'd to those Petitions which they make with their lips. For altho they have a moral perswasion that they say the Lords Praier, when they mumble out the *Pater noster*, yet for the distinct Petitions they are altogether to seek, as I have had occasion to make the trial: For when a Female Proselyte of *Rome* gloried, that she could say her Praiers in Latine, rehearsing her *Pater noster*; when she came to the fifth Petition, *Demitte nobis debita nostra*, I interrupted her, and demanded what that Petition was, which she then put up to God; she answered, She could not tell distinctly, but she knew in general that she said the Lords Prayer. Now certainly, it is necessary that the heart should know when the tongue asks forgiveness of Sins, that so it may be smitten and deeply affected with a sense and shame of sin in general, and with some particular sins, which lie as a burthen upon the Conscience, and would come into remembrance at that instant when we with understanding beg pardon. And the same reason holds for all requests made to God, we ought distinctly to understand them, that we may be suitably affected with a due sense of our wants. Did you never read the complaint which the Lord made to his Prophet *Isaiah*, chap. 29. ver. 13. *This People draw near to me with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me.*

Phil. Yes, and [b] *Bellarmin* shews clearly, the Text is understood of those who profess Religion and the fear of God, but their hearts are full of iniquity; or such as do not heed their Praiers, their thoughts wan-

[a] *Lib. 30. cap. 5. contra Faustum Manich. neque enim concedetur secundum Veniam, nisi peccatum.*

[b] *Lib. 2. De verbo Dei, cap. 16.*

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dring about Worldly affairs, whilſt they pray to God with their lips.

Theoph. Theſe Interpretations are good and pertinent, and yet exemt not ſuch alſo from the reproof of the Text, *who underſtanding not their Praiers, cannot poſſibly mind and follow them with devout and affectionate hearts*: ſuch Petitioners can never be acceptable unto God. And you may obſerve the Artifice of *Bellarmin*, and other School-men, to ſhift off Objections with ſome nice Diſtinction, and ſo to make the World believe, they have ſufficiently anſwer'd them: as tho (for inſtance) becauſe that fore-mention'd Text was a juſt reproof in *Bellarmine*'s ſenſe, therefore it was of no force in our ſenſe, againſt ſuch as pray with their lips, but underſtand not with their hearts. To conclude this Point, I deſire you ſeriouſly to anſwer this queſtion, Whether your Reaſon and your Conſcience do not tell you, that a Praier which is underſtood, is more beneficial to him that makes it, and to be prefer'd before a Praier which is not underſtood?

Phil. I do eaſily grant it, and ſo doth [a] *Bellarmine* expreſly in his Anſwer to *Calvin*'s Objection. Ex Oratione non intellecta nulla eſt utilitas, quia Apoſtolus ait, mens ſine fructu eſt. *There is no benefit from a Praier not underſtood*: for the Apoſtle ſaith, *My underſtanding is unfruitful*, 1 Cor. 14. 14. ſaith *Calvin*. Whereunto *Bellarmine* anſwers, In that place *the Apoſtle doth not condemn a Praier which is not underſtood, but he prefers before it a Praier which is underſtood*: for, *the Apoſtle doth not ſay, My Praier is without benefit, but my mind is unfruitful*.

Theoph. This is ſufficient for my purpoſe: For ſeeing by their own confeſſion, Praiers which are underſtood, and in a known Tongue, are to be prefer'd before Praiers not underſtood by the people; Why ſhould the Church of *Rome* ſo pertinaciouſly cleave to that which is worſe, and forſake the better part? And you cannot in reaſon condemn us, who have wiſely choſen the better part.

Phil. I have given you other Conſiderations and Reaſons to juſtifie herein the practice of the Church of *Rome*. I refer you to them.

Theoph. And I refer you back to my Replies, and muſt for a Concluſion declare, That all you have ſaid hath bin ſo far from giving me the leaſt ſatisfaction, that I am almoſt perſwaded, your own Reaſon and Conſcience is not fully reconciled to your pretentions and plea for the Church of *Rome*.

Phil. I abhor ſuch Diſſimulation: whether I have fail'd in my Judgment and Abilities, I know not; but I am ſure the ſincerity of mine Affection and of my utmoſt Endeavors, have not bin wanting.

Theoph. I leave that to God and your own Conſcience. And now we are warm in this Diſcourſe, before we diſmiſs it, if you pleaſe, we will take into conſideration the reading and hearing of Gods Word: Whether all the People of God are not bound to be converſant in the Holy Scripture? And ſo by conſequence, Whether the Bible ſhould not be

[a] *Lib.* 2. *De verb. Dei, cap.* 16.

[b] *Non reprehenditur*, &c. tranſlated

translated into the vulgar Tongue of every Nation, that all may read and understand it.

Phil. Will you undertake that all who read the Holy Scriptures in their own Tongue, shall understand them?

Theoph. Better, then if they do not read them; or if they were lock'd up from them in an unknown Language.

Phil. St *Peter* saith, 2 *Pet.* 16. *They who are unlearned and unstable, do wrest* St *Pauls* Epistles, as also *the* other *Scriptures, to their own destruction.*

Theoph. He speaks there expressly of some things hard to be understood in St *Pauls* Writings, which they that are unstable and unlearned do wrest, &c. but do you find that *Peter*, upon this consideration, either forbids or discourageth the unlearned to read the Scripture. The Text implies, that the unlearned did read *Pauls* Epistles, notwithstanding their difficulty to be understood: Doth he there, or any where else, to prevent the danger of wresting the Scriptures to their own destruction, take order they should not read them?

Phil. I do not find any such prohibition.

Theoph. Do you not find he doth encourage and command them in the same Epistle?

Phil. There is a passage which your side usually quotes, 2 Pet. 1. 19. *We have a more sure word of Prophesie, whereunto ye do well, that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place.* But we may ἀπεσίχειν, i. e. give heed as well, yea more safely, unto the Word of God Preach'd and Interpreted by the Church and her Ministers, then when we read it our selves: and therefore this Text doth not infer, that the People should read the Scripture, but only give heed unto those things which are Preach'd.

Theoph. We may give heed to the Holy Scriptures also when we read them, and therefore your Interpretation doth not exclude ours: but it is your usual shift, to shew how a Text may be taken in one sense which you allow of, and so think to exclude all other senses which you do not approve. But in earnest, Would you have the People know no more of the Scripture, then what they hear the Priest Interpret and Preach upon? The Epistles and Gospels, and the Lessons, are publicly read in the Churches, but in an unknown Tongue, in Latine; and little Preaching you have, or reading the Holy Scripture to the People in a Tongue they understand; you scarce allow any vulgar Translations of the Bible into the Language of every Country.

Phil. You are forward to lay these things to our charge; but [a] *Bellarmine* shews out of the Index *Ex purgatorius*, set out by Pope *Pius quartus*, in the 4th Rule of the Index, That the reading of Bibles translated into the vulgar Tongue, *is granted to such as can read them with bene-*

[a] *Concedi Lectionem ejusmodi Libr. iis qui utiliter, & cum fructu eâ uti possint, & qui facult. ab Ordin. obtinuerint, l. 2. De verbo Dei, cap. 15.*

fit, and have a faculty from the Ordinary so to do.

Theoph. Yes, such as pretend to moderation in your Church, would seem to allow Translations of the Holy Scripture into the vulgar Tongue of every Country, and the common People to read them, but with great caution. First, the Translations must be made out of the vulgar Latine, and not out of the Original Hebrew or Greek; so the *Rhemish* Testament in English, and the *Louvain* Translation in French. Secondly, None may use or read these Bibles thus Translated, without a License from the Bishop of the Diocess, and he judgeth they may read them with benefit.

Phil. Would you have a License granted unto them, who would read the Holy Scripture without benefit?

Theoph. No: but this License granted to some, implies a general restraint upon all from reading the Scripture without leave in a known Tongue; as tho to read the Scripture were a thing in it self unlawful, and prohibited unto all, and only allowed to some by Indulgence upon special Considerations. You heard before out of S. *Augustin*, [a] *Nothing is granted by an Indulgence and after the way of Pardon, but Sin.* And withal, to shew that those of your side are no real Friends to vulgar Translations, and to the common Peoples reading the Scripture, you will find that *Bellarmine*, who pretends to moderation in this Point, yet urgeth his Arguments both against vulgar Translations, and the vulgar reading of the Scripture, as unprofitable and prejudicial; in the same manner, as do the most rigid sort of Papists, who bitterly inveigh against, and openly condemn the common Peoples reading the Scripture, and Translations in their Language to help them, as I will shew hereafter. And upon this account, few there are who take out a License: but the People are altogether strangers to the Word of God, and entertain a prejudice against reading the Scriptures, as being not able to understand them, and being in danger to wrest them to their destruction: and they find they are more in favor with their Priests and Confessors, when they do not desire to look into the Bible, and are perswaded it would hurt them. Nay, the Learned are very ignorant of the Scriptures, and altogether neglect them. *Claudius Espencæus*, a *Parisian* Doctor, in his Comment upon the first Chapter of *Titus*, about the middle, tells us, that he remembers how a noble *Italian* Bishop told him, *That* [b] *his Countrymen did abstain from, and abhor to study Divinity (or the Scriptures) least they should become Hereticks; as tho (saith Espencæus) Heresies did spring from the Holy Scriptures, and not rather from the ignorance and neglect of them.* And [c] *Robert. Stephens* declares, that in some Conflicts and Dis-

[a] *Nihil enim conceditur secundum veniam nisi peccatum.*

[b] *Conterraneos suos quodammodo abhorrere à studio Theologico, ne sic fiant Hæretici, quasi vero Hæreses ex Scripturæ studio, ac non potius ex negligentia ac ignorantia nascantur.*

[c] Robertus Stephanus *respons. ad Censuram Theolog.* Parisiensium, *in præfatione pag. 9. Respondebant se illud apud Hieronymum aut in decretis legisse, quid vero novum Testamentum esset, ignora-*

course

course with the *Sorbon* Doctors, when he asked them, *Where, in the New Testament, such a thing was written*; they answered, *They had read it in Jerome, or in the Decretals*; *but what the New Testament was they knew not.* Again he reports, how one of the *Sorbon* College was wont to say, *I wonder that these young men allege to us the New Testament, By this Light, I was above 50 years old before I knew what the New Testament was.*[a]

Phil. When you examine well the Reasons which the Learned give against the Peoples reading the Scripture, you will not so severely condemn them.

Theoph. In due time I will take an account of them: But in the first place I will shew, how the Holy Scripture, and the Holy Fathers of the Primitive Church, are directly opposite to the practice of your Church, and the Opinions of your Learned Men, in with-holding the Scripture from the People.

Phil. You are a Man of great undertaking.

Theoph. Let the World judg of the performance. First, The Jews were the chosen People of God, unto whom were committed the Divine Oracles. Now *Moses*, in *Deuteronomie*, giving unto them a brief recapitulation of Gods Law, and of all the Statutes which he had commanded them, once and again declares unto all the People, *Deut.* 6. 1. *These are the Commandments, the Statutes, and the Judgments, which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them, &c. And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be as frontlets upon thine eies, &c.* ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. We have likewise the same charge given in a following Chapter, *Deut* 11. *ver.* 18, 19, 20. *Therefore ye shall lay up these my words in your heart, and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eies. And ye shall teach them your children, &c.*

Phil. These Exhortations may seem to relate unto the ten Commandments which were given in the 5th Chapter of *Deuteronomie*; and which they were all oblig'd to learn by heart, and to write upon their Frontlets and Phylacteries: but not to the whole Law of *Moses*.

Theoph. Observe how the word is varied: *These are the Statutes, the Judgments, and Commandments, &c.* to shew how it apparently includes the whole Law of God given by *Moses*, to be kept and observed by the Jews. But to proceed, the Prophet *David* declareth, *Psal.* 1. *verse* 2. *The man to be blessed, whose delight is in the Law of the Lord, and in his Law doth meditate day and night.*

Phil. Meditation is not reading: we meditate upon those things which we have heard, and have bin taught, to fix them in our memories.

[a] *Per diem ego habebam plus quam quinquaginta annos cum nesciebam quid esset novum Testamentum.*

Theoph. And ſo we may meditate upon theſe things which we do read. This is the old Fallacy, to ſhew how a Text may be taken in one ſenſe, and ſo think to exclude all other ſenſes. But the Author of the Commentaries uſually attributed to St *Jerome*, ſhews wherein this Meditation conſiſts: [a] *In reading the Scriptures, and doing them.* And *Baſil* ſheweth in the ſame Pſalm, how the Duty and the Bleſſing concern Women as well as Men. [b] *Why, doth the Prophet pronounce only the Man bleſſed? Hath he excluded the Women from this Bleſſedneſs? God forbid. Their virtue is the ſame, as their Creation was equal, and the reward ſhall be alike to both.* Again, our Bleſſed Savior ſends the Jews to the Scriptures, which teſtifie of him, *John* 5. 39. *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they have teſtified of me.*

Phil. [c] *Stapleton* ſheweth, how this direction was given to the Scribes and Phariſees, the Learned of the Jews, and not to the multitude: For in the 33^d verſe of this 5th Chapter, our Savior ſaith to them, *Ye ſent unto* John, *and he bare witneſs unto the truth*: Now in the firſt Chapter it appears, that the Scribes and Phariſees ſent unto *John*.

Theoph. Nothing loſs: We read *John* 1. 19. *ver.* 24. the Jews ſent Prieſts and Levites to ask him, *Who art thou?* and that they who were ſent were of the Phariſees; not that the Scribes and Phariſees ſent them. And [d] *Cyril* expreſly ſaith, *That Chriſt gave the exhortation to ſearch the Scriptures, unto the People of the Jews*: and the 5th Chapter thro-out, ſheweth our Saviors diſcourſe was with the People; ſome oppoſing, and others believing him.

Phil. *Stapleton* gives another anſwer to that Text: [e] *That it was no general Precept neceſſary and perpetual, which ſhould always oblige all men; but it was given by way of indulgence to the Jews now, becauſe of their unbelief.* For he had before ſtated the Queſtion, and granted, *That when Hereſies did abound, all the Scripture ſhould be allowed to ſome.*

Theoph. He was ſo over-ſeen in his firſt anſwer, that he gives the ſecond with very great caution: *No general Precept, neceſſary and perpetual, which ſhould always oblige all Men*; ſo many limitations to help him at a dead lift. But as to the later part of his Anſwer, if becauſe of their unbelief they were exhorted to ſearch the Scripture, and when Hereſies prevail and Errors; then now certainly as much as ever: and they ſhould not envy us the Scripture in our vulgar Tongue, who are ſo hard to believe their new coin'd Articles, and therefore by them reputed Heretics: Neither ſhould they with-hold the Scripture from their

[a] *In legendis Script. & faciend. iis quæ ſcripta ſunt.*

[b] Διὰ τί ἀπεφήνατο, &c.

[c] *Relect. controv. queſt. 3. qu. 3. art. 4.*

[d] Τοῖς γλαφυροῖς 19. ἐφοίτων καὶ ἀκριβὴς, &c.

[e] *Chriſtum non conſtituit generale præceptum aut neceſſarium & perpet. quod omnes & ſemper obliget.*

[f] *Graſſantibus Hæreſibus totam ſcript. permittendam aliquibus.*

Laity

Laity, seeing Errors so much abound in the World. But leaving these shifts, will you hear what *Origin* saith to this Text.[a] *I would that all of us would observe, and do that which is written: Search the Scripture.* Hear also what *Basil* saith, [b] ἀναστρέφωμεν τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς; *let us bear with our Lord, saying, Search the Scripture.* Hear what *Augustin*, [c] Christ the Head said to the Jews, what his Body the Church saith unto the Donatists, *Search the Scripture*, You see St *Augustin* urgeth the Enemies of Truth and of the Church to search the Scripture, as the best way to reclaim them. You have heard how the Jews were exhorted by *Moses*, and *David*, and by our Blessed Savior, to search and read the Scripture. In the next place we will consider Believers under the Gospel: we shall read *Acts* 17. 11. how they of *Berea* were commended, in *that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scripture daily, whether those things were so*, as *Paul* and *Silas* taught them. The Holy Ghost saith, *These were more worthy then those of Thessalonica, &c.*

Phil. The Greek word is Εὐγενέστεροι, more noble; Men of better parts and abilities; and to such we allow the reading of the Scripture, as not being so much in danger to be led by the Word of God into Error.

Theoph. I had thought the Word of God would lead Men into Truth, rather then into Error.

Phil. Yes, sober, wise, and learned Men: but the unlearned wrest the Scripture to their destruction, as you have heard.

Theoph. I have already answered that place of *Peter*; but for your Criticism upon the Original Word Εὐγενέστεροι, Men of more eminent Parts and Learning; you may observe how the commendation is given to the Synagogue of the Jews at *Berea*, and their eminency was, That they did mind *Paul*'s Preaching, and compare the Scripture. as in truth, True Piety is the best Nobility, and I may, with better color, invert your Argument, Because they were Men of Eminency and Learning, they did search the Scripture, say you: because they did search the Scripture, they were Men of Eminency and Learning, say I. But *Chrysostom* [d] gives the best Interpretation of the word: They were more noble, that is, more gentle and courteous then those of *Thessalonica*; who as we read, *verse* 5. *Being moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows, and set all the City in an uproar; and assaulted the house of* Jason, *and sought to bring* Paul *and* Silas *out to the people, &c.* but these of *Berea* were not of such a persecuting turbulent Spirit, and therefore they were more noble. Again, St *Paul* exhorts the *Colossians*, Col. 3.

[a] *Homil.* 2. *in Isaia. Utinam omnes faceremus quod scriptum est. Scrut. Script.*

[b] *Lib.* 2. *de Bapt. cap.* 4.

[c] *Serm.* 45. *De verb. Dom. Judæis dicit caput nostrum, quod vobis Corpus, Scrut. Script.*

[d] *In locum.* Εὐγενέστεροι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, ἐπιεικέστεροι.

16. *Let*

16. *Let the word of God dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.*

Phil. The Text answers it self: Such as must teach and admonish others, must be well vers'd in the Scripture: but it doth not follow, that such should be so who must learn and hear.

Theoph. This is a meer shift: the Original Words are, διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτούς; and your vulgar Translation renders it, *vos metipsos*, teaching and admonishing your selves: or if the scope of the Words favor our Translation, Teaching and admonishing one another. You see it is mutual, and implies the duty of all Christians within their own Sphere, to instruct others; one Neighbor another in mutual conference; Parents their Children; Masters their Family: And to this end the word of God should dwell in them abundantly. Observe what *Chrysostom* [a] saith upon this Text, directly against your Interpretation: *Hear all ye who are immerst in the Affairs of the World, and have Wife and Children to take care of, how you especially are exhorted to read the Scripture with great diligence.*

Phil. The Word ἐπιτρέπει, rather signifies Permission, then Exhortation.

Theoph. And so should you permit secular Men to be conversant in the Scripture: but this will not help you, for the Exhortation, or rather Command, runs not by way of permission, but of duty. In the same Homily [b] he tells every one of his hearers, *That he should not wait for any other Teacher: Thou hast*, saith he, *the Oracles of God, none can instruct thee like them.* And then it follows, [c] *I beseech you, hear ye men of the World: Buy you Bibles, which are the souls physick; if not, purchase the New Testament, or* Pauls *Epistles, or the Acts of the Apostles, or the Gospels, Masters that will never intermit Instruction.* And then he rounds them in the ear, [d] *This is the cause of all evils, not to know the Scripture.* And lastly, in order to their instructing one another, he tells them, That they ought to help, and not leave all the burthen upon him: *They were steep, and must be fed; but they were not brute Beasts, but a rational Flock,* [e] *and might so learn as in due time even to instruct their neighbors.* And so I hope this holy Father hath fully answered you.

Phil. [f] *Bellarmine*, and others, observe *Chrysostom* to have bin a great Orator, and to use Hyperbolies and Amplifications according to the occasion: and he gives an instance pertinent to your purpose out of another

[a] *In Locum.* ἀκούσατε ὅσοι ἐστὲ κοσμικοὶ, καὶ γυναικ. &c.

[b] *Hom.* 16. *In Epistolam ad Coloss.* Μήδε περιμείνῃς ἕτερον διδάσκαλον, ἔχεις τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, &c.

[c] Ἀκούσατε, παρακαλῶ, οἱ βιοτικοὶ κτᾶσθε βιβλία φάρμακα ψυχῆς, &c.

[d] Τοῦτο πάντων αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὰς γραφάς.

[e] Πρόβατα οὐκ ἄλογα ἀλλὰ λογικά.

[f] *Lib.* 2. *de verb. Dei, c.* 16. *Chrysost. amplificat. in concionibus utebatur.*

place,

place, where he ſaith, [a] *It is impoſſible any one ſhould obtain ſalvation, unleſs he be alwaies converſant in reading Spiritual Books*: which you know cannot be true in a ſtrict ſenſe; for many that cannot read, may be ſaved.

Ib. The Father ſpeaks of Men that can read, and by their neglect exclude themſelves from a poſſibility of Salvation; and that others who cannot read, might be diligent to hear others reading the Scripture, in the Church, and in their Families: And if this be your way to anſwer the Fathers when they fully declare againſt you, to ſay, They ſpeak not Doctrinally, but like Orators by way of Amplification, you muſt needs carry all before you. But you will find in the Homily upon *Lazarus*, how *Chryſoſtom* makes it his great buſineſs to exhort all his Congregation (in the Preface) to ſtudy the Scripture: *This*, ſaith he, *I Preach in public, and this I exhort in private, and will never deſiſt from ſo doing,* [b] *That not only in the Church, but alſo in your houſes, ye ſhould diligently read the Scripture:* [c] *And I hate*, ſaith he, *that frigid anſwer, and worthy all condemnation, That becauſe ye have Trades, and worldly Buſineſs, and Wife, and Children, therefore ye cannot be ſo well verſ'd in the Scripture: And that in your Opinion, I ſhould rather give this charge to ſtudy the Scripture, unto Men ſeparate from the World; unto Monks, and Hermits, and the Clergy. What ſaieſt thou man?* (as the Father goes on) *Is it not thy buſineſs to attend unto the Scripture, becauſe thou art incumbred with myriads of worldly affairs? I tell thee, for this very reaſon thou ſhouldſt apply thy ſelf to the Scripture, more then ſuch who are free from cares; for amidſt thy multiplicity of buſineſs, thou doſt want the help and conduct of the Scripture, more then they who are ſecluded from the world: Thy Wife may vex thee, thy Children grieve thee, thy Servant anger thee, thy Friend envy thee, thy Enemy beſet thee with ſnares, the Judge oppreſs thee, thy Neighbor curſe thee; and againſt all theſe and other aſſaults, how neceſſary will be the Panoply of the Scripture, the only Phyſic againſt all the maladies of the World.* After all this, judge whether *Bellarmines* ſhift will ſerve his turn, touching *Chryſoſtom*'s Oratory and Amplifications: No, it was the good Fathers buſineſs, and principal part of Doctrine, in many Homilies to recommend the ſtudy of the Scripture unto his Congregation.

Phil. But you may read another anſwer *Bellarmine* gives to theſe vehement Exhortations of *Chryſoſtom*, [d] *Becauſe the People of that great City*, Conſtantinople, *were much given to Plaies and Sights, and other trifling Divertiſements*; and ſuch as were fit and able did not look into the Bible, therefore he was ſo ſolicitous to quicken them.

[a] *Hom.* 3. *in Lazarum, Tom.* 5. &c.

[b] Τῶν παρεκκλήσεων τὴν παρεκκλησιν ὑπὲρ πάντων ποιοῦμαι, &c.

[c] Ψυχρὸν ῥῆμα τὸ πάσης καταγνώσεως ἄξιον.

[d] *Quoniam dediti erant homines theatris ſpect. aliiſque nugis, & ſcript. divinas unquam legebant.*

Theoph.

Theoph. Doth not the ſame Cauſe ever inforce the ſame Exhortation? Are not Men too much addicted to the Vanities, and Luſts, and Cares of the World, and therefore need theſe ſacred Divertiſements? But by theſe whiffling Anſwers, you may perceive how your great *Bellarmin* is a Trifler, and ſo are all his Seconds, who have the confidence, without ſhew of reaſon, to ſhift off Arguments and Texts of Scripture, which are as clear as the Sun againſt them: But ſuch weak Anſwers fortifie our Objections, and do in truth manifeſt, They are ſo convincing, that Men muſt be frivolous or ſilent in their Solutions.

Phil. I aſcribe this Triumph before the Victory, and this inſulting over your Adverſaries, unto the partiality of your Judgment in your own cauſe.

Theoph. To decline this Imputation, I ſhall chooſe to ſubmit all to the impartial Reader; and paſs from the teſtimony of Holy Scripture, unto the teſtimony of the Holy Fathers of the Church, who exhort all Chriſtians to the ſearch and ſtudy of the Scripture. And altho we meet with great variety of Teſtimonies collected by learned Proteſtants out of the ancient Fathers, yet for brevity ſake I will produce only ſuch as I have had the opportunity to read my ſelf, and if occaſion ſerves, will hereafter be ready to produce the reſt. [a] *Cyprian* willing to withdraw Chriſtians from the Roman Theaters and Sports, having condemn'd them for their Idolatry and Impurities, he directs Chriſtians to the contemplation of Gods Works, in the excellent frame, and beauty, and order of the Creation, and more eſpecially to read the Scripture. *Let the Believing Chriſtian*, ſaith he, *make the holy Scripture his ſtudy, where he ſhall find excellent diſcoveries agreeable to his pretious Faith.*

Phil. This Teſtimony of *Cyprian*, juſtifies *Bellarmins* former Anſwer, That becauſe the People were much given to frequent the Theaters and Scenes, full of obſcenity and vice, therefore for that ſeaſon *Chryſoſtom* did divert them, by a better imploiment, exhorting them to ſtudy the Scripture: But this proves not that they ſhould be alwaies read by the common people, but only upon ſuch ſpecial Conſiderations.

Theoph. When ſuch Motives and Conſiderations are wanting, let Men and Women lay aſide their Bibles; but as long as we live in a wicked World, there will be alwaies need of the light and conduct of Gods Holy Word, to lead us out of the works of Darkneſs and way of Unrighteouſneſs. But I pray hear others: [b] *Origen* tells his hearers, *We do heartily wiſh, that ye would labor not only in the Church to hear Gods word, but alſo in your houſes to be exerciſed in his Law day and night.* And he proceeds, *In vain doye complain that the fleſh is weak, while ye neglect to nuriſh and fortifie the Spirit, by reading the Holy Scripture, and by Praier, and hearing the inſtruction of the Word.* And elſewhere, as you have heard

[a] *Lib. de ſpectaculis, ad finem, Script ſacris incumbat Chriſtianus fidelis, ibi inveniet condigna fidei ſpectacula*

[b] *Homil 9. in Levit. Optamus ut operam detis non ſolum in Eccleſia, &c.*

be-

before, he passionatly wisheth, [a] *Would God we all would follow that which is written, Search the Scriptures.* [b] *Eusebius Cæsariensis* assigns the reading of the Holy Scriptures both unto Babes in Christ, and unto strong Men, with this difference, The first sort must simply read and believe the Scripture as most true, and the infallible Word of God: But Men of mature Learning and Judgment, should dive into the profound Mystery and meaning of the Scripture: you may read his words in the first Page of that Book. The same *Eusebius* wrote three Books, as *Jerome* reports, of the Life of *Pamphilus* his great Friend, which are not extant. But [c] *Jerome* cites this Passage out of the third Book, in commendation of *Pamphilus*: *Who is vertuous, and not a Friend of* Pamphilus, *who supplied food and necessaries to the poor, and distributed the Holy Scriptures, not only to Men, but Women, who were desirous to read them, for which end he purchased many Bibles?* [d] *Basil* the Great tells us, *All Scripture is written by Divine Inspiration, and profitable, and therefore given by the Holy Ghost, that every one of us might choose a proper remedy for his disease, as out of a common Apothecaries shop, for his Soul.*

Phil. As the Holy Scriptures have Physic for all Diseases, so the Application should be well made by our Spiritual Physicians, otherwise the Patient may miscarry; and therefore we hold the People should hear and receive the Scripture from the Priests mouth.

Theoph. This gloss contradicts the Text, for the Father said, [e] *Every one should choose his proper remedy out of the common Treasury.* Again, [f] *Ambrose* directs a *Gentile who would believe, or a* Catechumen *who would receive farther Institution, unto the living Waters of the Holy Scripture, without the corrupt Channels of Interpreters.* You see the Holy Scripture ought not to be with-held from Unbelievers, and Unbaptized. But *Jerome* for the Latine Church, and *Chrysostom* for the Greek, speak so fully to this Point, that we may supersede all other Testimonies. *Jerome* writes many Epistles to Virgins, to Women, concerning themselves and the Institution of their Children, the Government of their Families; and above all, commends to them the diligent reading of the Scripture. In his Epistle to *Læta*, a Noble Dame, [g] He gives in charge to inure her beloved Daughter to the study of the Scripture, *That none should find her in the way of the World, amidst the throng and tumult of Play-fellows and Kins-folk, but in the recesses of the Holy Scripture, consulting the Prophets and Apostles about Spiritual concerns. Bid her of fine Clothes and Jewels,*

[a] *Homil. 2. in Isaia.*

[b] *Lib. 12. de præpar. Evang.*

[c] *Lib. 1. Apol. adversus Ruffinum. Scripsit Sanctus vir ad vitæ fruendum tribuebat, non solum viris sed & fœminis.*

[d] *In Psal. 1.* Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος, &c.

[e] Ἕκαστος ἐκλεγέσθω, &c.

[f] *Lib. de Parad. c. 12. Gentiles aut, &c.*

[g] *De Instit. filiæ. nec alibi reperiant nisi in adyto script. Prophet. Apostoli & spiritualibus sciscitantem, &c.*

let her love the Book of God; let her learn the Pſalter, and divert her ſelf with thoſe Songs. In the Proverbs of Solomon, *let her learn Morals. In the* Eccleſiaſtes, *to deſpiſe the World. In* Job, *Patience and Vertue. Let her proceed to the* Evangeliſts, *and never lay them out of her hands; & ſo to the Acts of the Apoſtles and their Epiſtles: and having enrich'd her heart with theſe Divine Treſures, let her commit to memory the* Prophets, *and the* Pentateuch, *&c. And at laſt, without danger, let her learn the* Canticles. In another Epiſtle to a Virgin, [a] *O thou that art born of God,* ſaith he, *This one thing above all, I muſt give in charge, repeating it over and over again, That thou poſſeſs thy heart with the love of reading the Holy Scripture. Love the Bible, and wiſdom will aſſuredly love thee.* In an Epiſtle to *Salvina*, perſwading her to keep her ſelf a Widow, he ſaith, [b] *Let the Bible be always in thy hand to read it.* In an Epiſtle to *Celautia* concerning the government of her Family, he preſſeth the ſame Exhortation, [c] *Let the Holy Scripture be always in thy hand, and in thy mind.* In *Marcella*'s Epitaph, [d] he gives this commendation of her, *She had an incredible thirſt after the Holy Scripture, and ever ſang, I have hid thy word within my heart, that I might not ſin againſt thee,* &c. *and that ſhe became an Oracle to reſolve doubts concerning the Scripture.* I might colleſt many more ſuch paſſages out of this Author, but I will content my ſelf with one general Exhortation, to read the Scripture inſtead of all. [e] *If there be any thing,* ſaith the good Father, *which ſhould make a wiſe man chooſe to live, and weather out the ſtorms and troubles of our preſent ſtate, it is the knowledge and meditation of the Scripture. For whereas* (as he goes on) *herein we chiefly differ from other living Creatures, that we are rational and can ſpeak, and all Reaſon and Language is contain'd in the Holy Scripture, whereby we know God, and are not ignorant wherefore we were created, I marvel any there ſhould be, who either out of ſloth and negligence, will not learn themſelves theſe excellent things, or think others worthy reprehenſion who do ſtudy them.* And now tell me, Have you not enough of *Jerome*? Would he not marvel, think you, at your new Doctors, who as much diſcourage the People from reading the Scripture, as he with all his excellency of Grace and Eloquence doth excite them?

Phil. I muſt confeſs, I never look'd to hear ſo much to this purpoſe.

Theoph. Have a little patience, and you will find *Chryſoſtom* as full and emphatical. Like advice he gives to *Gaudentius* for the Education of *Pacatula* his Daughter. [f] *Let her learn the Pſalter by heart, and before ſhe*

[a] *Ad Demetriadem. de Virg. ſervandi. Spondeo unum illud tibi, nata deo, præque dominibus unum prædicam, & repetens,* &c.

[b] *Semper in manibus ſit divina Lectio.*

[c] *Semper in manibus, & jugiter in mente volvantur.*

[d] *Epiſtola ad Principiam div. Script. ardor erat incredib. ſemperque cantabat, In corde meo abſcondo eloq. tua, ut non peccem,* &c.

[e] *Præfatione in Epiſtolam ad Ephesios, ſi quicquam eſt quod in hac vita, &c.*

[f] *Diſcat Pſalterium memoriter,* &c.

comes

comes to maturity of age, let her make the Books of Solomon, *the Evangelists, the Apostles and Prophets, her chief tresure.* In his first Tome, he tells his hearers, [a] *We may at home, before and after meals, taking into our hands the Holy Bible, feed our Souls: for as the Body doth want corporal nurishment, so doth the Soul Spiritual, we being thereby strengthned against the assaults of the flesh, and our restless enemy, who sets upon us to captivate our Souls. And therefore,* saith he, *the Prophet* David *calls him Blessed, who meditates in the Law of the Lord day and night.* And then he adds, *This is our salvation, this our Spiritual wealth, this our security. If we arm our selves daily by Spiritual hearing and reading, and discourse, we shall never be overcome, but frustrate all the devices of the evil Spirit, and obtain the kingdom of Heaven.* Again, speaking of the Holy Scriptures, he tells them, [b] *They are spiritual food, the nerves and sinews of Ratiocination, making the soul vigorous and in tune, and more Philosophical, not suffering her to be carried away with brutish passions, giving her a swift wing, and translating her* (as I may so speak) *into Heaven: Wherefore I beseech you, let us not deprive our selves of such advantages, but in our own houses let us give all diligence in reading the Holy Scripture.* In his Tom. 2. [c] He upbraids them of not minding the Scripture, *And who is there,* saith he, *of this great Congregation, that, being requir'd, can say one of* Davids *Psalms, or any other part of Scripture?* [d] *And what do ye plead for your excuse? I am no Monk, I have a Wife and Children, and the care of a Family, &c.*

Phil. He justly reproves such, who out of supine negligence had learn'd none of *Davids* Psalms, or other parts of the Scriptures: but our Church recommends the Penitential Psalms, and many others, to be learn'd by heart.

Theoph. That which follows, expresly mentions reading the Bible; [e] *This mars all,* saith he, *that ye think it belongs only to Monks to read the Word of God, whereas ye want the comfort of the Scripture more then they: such as are conversant in secular affairs, and every day receive wounds, do most stand in need of Physic.* And he goes on to tell them, [f] *That if there be a sin greater then the neglect of reading Gods Word, it is this, To be perswaded we need not read the Scripture. This is the studied suggestion of the devil; whereas* Paul *tells us, These things were written for our instruction,* 1 Cor. 10. 11. I must needs declare to you, *Philodoxus,* It makes my heart even to bleed, to think how such satanical suggestions (as *Chrysostom* justly call'd them) should now become the avowed Doctrine of a Christian Church, if I may in Charity be allow'd to call her so.

Phil. Your Zeal, *Theophilus,* transports you beyond all reason.

[a] *Hom.* 10. *in Genesin.* Δυνησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ, &c.
[b] Τοῦτο ἡ Σωτηρία ἡμῶν, &c.
[c] *Hom.* 29. Τροφὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ, &c.
[d] *Hom.* 2. *in Matt. ad finem.*
[e] Ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ ἀπολογία, &c.
[f] Τοῦτο γὰρ, &c.
[g] Ὥστε τοῦ μὴ, &c.

Theoph. I would to God I had no reason for this Zeal and Indignation, but I have much more to produce out of this Father. In another Homily he gives advice, that [a] *They should not immediatly fall upon worldly business after a Sermon, but call their Wives and Children together, and take the Bible, and make them partake of those things he had heard.*

Phil. This we approve well, that such as come to Church should heed what is taught them, and carry it with them; and in their Families, repeat and instruct those that were absent.

Theoph. But there is somthing more then you allow, [b] *That they should have Bibles in their Houses, and take and read to their Wives and Children at home the Text and Proofs,* &c. Again, in the same *Tome,* [c] from the example of the Woman of *Samaria,* enquiring of our Blessed Savior about the true Worship of God, &c. he condemns his hearers of negligence and indifferency in matters of Religion: And then he proposeth the Question, *Which of you, being in his house, will take into his hand the Book of Christianity,* [d] *and search what is contain'd therein? You shall find Dice in every House, but the Bible in few: and such as have the Scriptures, are as tho they had them not: They clasp them up, and lock them in their Chests, and are solicitous for the finest Paper, and the fairest Letter, but not to read them. They boast they have the Bible in Golden Letters, and know nothing of the Contents. But the Scriptures were not given, that we should have them in our Books, but engraven in our hearts. I speak not this,* saith he, *forbidding you to have Bibles,* ([e] *I exhort and earnestly beg, you would procure them) but I desire also the sense and words of Holy Scripture should be carried in your minds. And if the Devil dares not enter into an house where there is a Bible, much less will he draw near to a soul that is fraught with Sentences of Scripture; neither sin, nor the evil Spirit, will attemt a mind so well furnish'd.* [f] *Sanctifie therefore thy Mind, and sanctifie thy Body, having the Holy Scripture alwaies in thy Heart, and in thy Mouth.* In his third *Tome,* [g] in his Preface to the Epistle to the *Romans,* he grieves his hearers were not better acquainted with *Paul* and his Epistles; and tells them, *If they would with alacrity give themselves to reading the Scripture, they should want no other thing:* or, if I mistake him not, *no other Interpreter. For the promise of Christ shall never fail: seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.* Soon after he tells them, [h] *From hence do spring up myriads of evils, even from the ignorance of the Scripture: from hence pernicious Heresies, neglected lives, and labor in vain. For as they who are destitute of the light, cannot make strait paths; so such as*

[a] *Hom.* 5. *Matth.* Ἐχρῆν εὐθέως, &c.
[b] Τὸ Βιβλίον μεταχειρίζεσθαι, &c.
[c] *Hom.* 32. *in Johan. ad finem.* Ἡμεῖς οὐ μόνον, &c.
[d] Πυκτίον Χριστιανικόν.
[e] Παραινῶ τοῦτο καὶ σφόδρα εὔχομαι.
[f] Ἁγιάζων τοίνυν τὴν ψυχὴν, &c.
[g] Οὐδὲ νῦν ἑτέρη, &c.
[h] Ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μυρία ἐφύη κακὰ, &c.

do

do not take along with them the light of Gods Word, in many things neceſſarily do offend and ſtumble, as walking in utter darkneſs. But more then all this we may read in his fifth *Tome*, in the third Homily upon *Lazarus*, and I have already inſtanc'd in ſeveral paſſages of that Sermon, where he alſo tells us, *That as Work-men cannot be without their Tools, ſo neither a Chriſtian without the Holy Scripture.* And he concludes the Preface of that Homily (wherein all theſe paſſages are to be found) with this aſſeveration, [a] *It is impoſſible, I ſay it is impoſſible, that any one who gives himſelf up to read the Holy Scripture with due obſervation, ſhould loſe his labor.* And now after ſuch full and frequent Exhortations of the Holy Scripture, and of the Holy Fathers, made unto all ſorts and conditions of Men, to ſearch, and hear, and read the Scriptures, and to be converſant in them, Would you think it poſſible a new Generation of Doctors ſhould ariſe, and diſcourage, and forbid the People to ſtudy the Scriptures, urging Arguments to ſhew the great and many Inconveniencies of ſo doing; as much as they can reſtraining the Tranſlations of the Bible into the vulgar Tongue of every Country?

Phil. What the ſad experience of later Times had taught them, they have reaſon to declare, and to ſuit their Canons and Prohibitions to the ſeaſon, as the wiſdom of the Church did judg moſt expedient; and when you examine well their Arguments and Reaſons, perhaps you may be conſtrain'd to allow of them.

Theoph. There muſt be a ſtrange tranſformation of Mens minds and manners, when the Holy Scriptures, which were written for our Inſtruction, and to make men *wiſe unto Salvation*, ſhall prove pernicious unto their Souls.

Phil. As wholeſom Food unto ſick Stomachs.

Theoph. But the Holy Scriptures are both Food and Phyſic to the Soul, and were certainly written for all times, and for all conditions of Men.

Phil. I pray have patience to hear their Reaſons, before you anſwer them.

Theoph. I expect firſt you ſhould return a ſober Anſwer, unto the Holy Fathers of the Primitive Church, who (as you have heard) do ſo ſeriouſly recommend the ſtudy of the Scripture unto all Men.

Phil. I did not expect you ſhould uſe ſo many ſhifts and ſubterfuges, and I am almoſt perſwaded, that being conſcious to your ſelf, of their convincing Evidence, therefore you decline to hear their Arguments.

Theoph. That will appear in due time and place: but have you in earneſt no Reply to make, unto thoſe Exhortations of the Fathers to read the Bible?

Phil. Your principal Quotations are out of *Chryſoſtom*; and *Bellarmine* hath told you, He was an Orator, and uſed to ſpeak Hyperbolies to affect his Auditory.

Theoph. And I have ſhew'd, how this good Father, thro out his

[a] Ἀμήχανον γὰρ, ἀμήχανον, &c.

Works,

Works, ſo frequently recommends the ſtudy of the Scripture, as a ſubſtantial point of Doctrine and Duty, which he preſs'd upon his hearers, not as an embelliſhed flower of his Rhetoric. But I pray, What Anſwer doth *Bellarmine*, or any other Champions of your Church, give unto the other Fathers?

Phil. I do not find they have taken much notice of the reſt; they ſuppoſe, perhaps, one Anſwer will ſerve them all.

Theoph. As one Shoe will fit every Mans Foot. And this indeed is very obſervable, That *Bellarmine* in his great reading ſhould omit *Jerome*, and *Baſil*, and *Origen*, and the reſt, and take notice only of *Chryſoſtoms* Expreſſions, and thift them off as Rhetorical Flaſhes and Hyperbolies, and not ſerious Exhortations to read the Scripture. His ſubtilty, without doubt, promted him to concele the others for the advantage of his Cauſe, leaſt the pregnant Teſtimonies of ſo many Fathers, ſhould prevail with ſober Men to ſearch the Scripture, more then all the Prohibitions of their Church, and novel Arguments, to reſtrain them from it. And it is his Artifice, that he might ſeem Ingenious, to take notice of one Father oppoſing him, that ſo the unwary Reader being not well verſ'd in the Fathers, might ſuppoſe all the others to have been ſilent, or on his ſide in the Controverſie.

Phil. You are pleaſant with your own Conceits, but their Arguments will make you work to anſwer them.

Theoph. I have great confidence in the merits of the Cauſe, and do not deſpair of a ready Anſwer unto all oppoſition that ſhall be made againſt ſuch a meſur'd Truth, which we defend.

Phil. *Bellarmine* [a] ſhews, how the Old Teſtament was publicly read to the Jews in the Hebrew Tongue, when the People did not underſtand it; becauſe in the Captivity the Jews had forgotten their own Language, and learn'd the *Chaldee* and the *Syriac*: And therefore after their return into *Judea*, it is written, *Nehem.* 8. 7, 8, 9, 12. how the Prieſts and Levites cauſed the People to underſtand the Law. They did read in the Book diſtinctly, and gave the ſenſe, and cauſed them to underſtand the reading. *Nehemiah*, and *Ezra*, and the Levites, taught the People: *and all the People made great mirth, becauſe they had underſtood the words that were declared unto them.*

Theoph. Here is not one word to ſhew the People did not underſtand the Language wherein the Holy Scriptures were read, but that the Prieſts and Levites gave the ſenſe, interpreted to them the Law of God, and cauſed them to underſtand the meaning of the Words: nay, it is expreſly ſaid, *ver.* 2. *That* Ezra *brought the Law before the Congregation, both of men and women, and all that could hear with underſtanding.* And again, *ver.* 3. *before thoſe that could underſtand, and all the People were attentive unto the Book of the Law.* Neither may we well ſuppoſe that they had forgot their Mother Tongue in the time of their Captivity, but

[a] *Lib.* 2. *De verbo Dei*, c. 15.

only

only mix'd, and corrupted it, in ſome Words. Seventy Years is too ſhort a date to change the Language of a People. Withal, it might be remembred that ſome Learned Men of the Roman Communion, have ſaid, That the Jews were not ſo long Captives in *Babylon*, that from the deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* burn'd the City, and the Temple, until *Cyrus* his command for the Jews return, there were but 30. Years: And that the term of 70. Years, ſo much ſpoken of by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, did bear date from the 13th Year of King *Joſiah*'s Reign, about the time when *Nineve* was deſtroied, and the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy was tranſlated to *Babylon*; and thoſe great Neighbors prov'd very terrible, and by the Prophet were pointed out to be the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. And withal, we know the three laſt Prophets, after the return of the Jews from *Babylon*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Malachy*, encouraging the People to build the Temple, and the City, ſpake unto them in the Hebrew Tongue, and therefore doubtleſs the People underſtood it. Nay we read expreſly, *Acts* 22. 2. S[t] *Paul* ſpake to the Jews, gathered together in a great multitude and tumult, in the Hebrew Tongue, and therefore for a while heard him with patience; when they heard that he ſpake in the Hebrew Tongue to them, they kept the more ſilence: And it is manifeſt by that which follows, *ver.* 21. that they underſtood him.

Phil. Bellarmine brings a Confirmation, that the Jews did not underſtand the Hebrew Tongue, out of the Goſpel of S[t] *John*, Joh. 7. 49. *But this people, that know not the Law, is curſed.*

Theoph. Both he and you may bluſh to own ſuch a ſimple Proof. The Scribes and Phariſees there pronounced the multitude that followed Chriſt accurſed, not becauſe they know not Hebrew, wherein the Law was written; but becauſe, in their account, they miſ-applied the Propheſies of the *Meſſiah*, to Chriſt. And if the Hebrew Tongue was forgotten among the Jews, why did *Matthew* write his Goſpel, as is ſuppoſed, in Hebrew, for the better Information of his Country-men?

Phil. Bellarmine likewiſe ſhews, how even to this day, the Jews in their Synagogues have the Scriptures read in Hebrew, altho moſt of them underſtand it not.

Theoph. Let the Synagogues of the Jews, and the Church of *Rome* in this regard, lay their heads together, to juſtifie their unreaſonable practice by the Autority of one another.

Phil. But what ſay you to this next Argument, which ſeems demonſtrative: The Apoſtles and Diſciples preach'd the Goſpel unto all People, Nations and Languages, and yet they did write the Goſpels, and their Epiſtles only in Hebrew and Greek. Nay *Paul*, you know, wrote his Epiſtles to the Romans in Greek, which was not their vulgar Tongue.

Theoph. There is a great difference to be obſerv'd between Preaching the Goſpel, and committing it to Writing. The Apoſtles were endow-

[a] *See* Tirinus *his* Chronicon Sacrum, *cap.* 35.

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ed with the gift of Tongues, that whither ſoever they ſhould come, they might Preach the Goſpel of Salvation unto the People in that Tongue which they underſtood: But being to leave the Records of Holy Scripture unto all ſucceeding Generations, they did write them in that Language which was then moſt common in the World; *viz.* In Greek, that in every Country the Learned who did underſtand the Greek, might Tranſlate the Holy Scriptures into their own Language, for the better underſtanding of the People. And without doubt, moſt of the Saints at *Rome*, who believed the Goſpel, and unto whom *Paul* did write his Epiſtle, were not Natives and *Italians*, but Strangers and Foreigners, either tranſported by the Conqueror, or chooſing to follow him into the great Metropolis of the World. Many Jews were at *Rome*, when *Claudius* baniſh'd them; and we may believe, more Greeks: The names of thoſe Saints, whom in the 16th Chapter he ſalutes, ſhew they were not Romans, but only Saints at *Rome*. And this may be a particular Conſideration why *Paul* did write in Greek to the Saints at *Rome*, for we may probably ſuppoſe more of them underſtood the Greek Tongue, then the Latine; but as need required, Tranſlations were made. For a long ſeaſon the Jews were the only choſen People of God thro-out the World to know his will, and they had *Moſes* and the Prophets in their own Tongue; but when the time grew nigh, that the Gentiles alſo ſhould be receiv'd into Covenant with God, be Fellow-heirs with the Jews, and of the ſame Body, and Partakers of his Promiſe in Chriſt by the Goſpel, (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks *Eph.* 3. 6. *to prepare the way for their converſion,*) God ſtirr'd up the Heart of a Mighty Prince, to bring about that famous Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament into Greek, by the 70. Interpreters: and other Greek Tranſlations followed: and many more into Latine, both of the Old and New Teſtament, as *Auguſtine* ſhews, [a] *We may number thoſe who have Tranſlated the Old Teſtament out of Hebrew into Greek; but the Latine Interpreters are without number.*

Phil. We do not diſapprove Tranſlations in Greek or Latine.

Theoph. And why do you ſtick at other Languages, ſeeing all was don for the better underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures by the People in every Country; and you have already heard, that one Language is not more grave and venerable then another, notwithſtanding *Bellarmine* would perſwade the contrary. And to ballance his great Autority in this caſe, I will give the ample Teſtimony of a Pope againſt him. [b] *We find among the multitude of Epiſtles written by Pope* John *the* 8th, (as he is call'd by the Champions of *Rome*, who exclude Pope *Joan* out of the Catalogue of Popes) *otherwiſe Pope* John *the* 9th. *One Epiſtle there is written* Stentorpulchro glorioſo Comiti, *To a Prince of* Moravia, *whoſe Subjects did ſpeak the* Sclavonian *Tongue; and he commands they ſhould have*

[a] *Lib.* 2. *de Doct. Chriſt. cap.* 11. *Quæ Scripſ. ex Hebræa in Græcam verterunt, numerari poſſunt, Latinos autem Interpretes nullo modo, &c.*

[b] *Bin. Concil. Tom.* 7. *parte* 1. *Epiſt Johan.* 8. 247.

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the Holy Scripture, and their Service in their own Language. [a] Giving his Reaſons the ſame with us, *For we are required*, ſaith he, *by Sacred Authority to praiſe God, not only in three Tongues, but in all*, Pſal. 117. *O praiſe the Lord all ye heathen, praiſe him all ye nations. And the Apoſtles in every Tongue did ſpeak the wonderful works of God*, Acts 2. 11. Hence *Paul*, that celeſtial Trumper, proclaims, *Let every Tongue confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, to the glory of God the Father*, Phil. 2. 11. of which Tongues he gives his advice manifeſtly, 1 Cor. 14. *That all ſhould be done to edification. Nor is it any way oppoſite to Faith or ſound Doctrine, if Maſs be ſung in the Sclavonian Tongue, or the holy Goſpel be read, or any other Leſſons of the Old or New Teſtament, being well Tranſlated. For he that made three principal Tongues, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latine, hath created likewiſe all the reſt for his own praiſe and glory.* I have ſet down this ample Teſtimony at large, becauſe it commands what we practice, and gives the ſame reaſons as we do, to juſtifie it. And we may wonder *Bellarmine*, and all other Creatures of the Popes of *Rome*, ſhould not ſubſcribe thereunto. But altho I mention'd only Tranſlations of the Bible into Greek and Latine, which you approve; we early read of other Languages whereinto the Holy Scriptures were Tranſlated. The Old Teſtament by *Onkelos*, and *Jonathan* the ſon of *Uzial*, was Tranſlated into the *Chaldee*. [b] *Ulphilas*, Biſhop of the *Goths*, found out the *Gothic* Letters, and tranſlated the Holy Scriptures into that Tongue, that the *Barbarians* ſhould have the Bleſſed Word of God. The *Septuagint* into the *Dalmatic*, by *Jerome*. The whole Bible by *Chryſoſtom*, into the *Armenian* Tongue (as *Sixtus Senenſis* [c] affirms) *when he was baniſh'd into* Cucuzum, *a City of* Armenia, *for the benefit of the People, that they might the better underſtand the Holy Scriptures, he tranſlated the Old and New Teſtament into the* Armenian *Tongue*. *Bellarmin* hath the confidence to doubt, whether *Jerome* tranſlated the *Septuagint* into the *Dalmatic*, the vulgar Tongue of his Country: but [d] *Sixtus Senenſis* tells us, that unto this day they make uſe of the Tranſlation with great benefit. And [e] *Alphonſus de Caſtro* acknowledgeth it, altho a great Adverſary againſt vulgar Tranſlations. *Theodoret*, The Learned Biſhop of *Cyrus*, [f] triumphs over all the obſcure Books of the Heathen Philoſophers, in compariſon with the Holy Scriptures, becauſe theſe were univerſally receiv'd among all Nations, and tranſlated into their Language. *We*, ſaith he, *evidently demonſtrate the efficacy and power of Prophetical and Apoſtolic Doctrine, in that every Nation under the Sun is full of the Divine Oracles. The*

[a] *Ut in eadem Lin. Chriſt. Dom. noſt. præconia & opera enarrantur, jubemur neque, &c.*

[b] *Socrates Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. cap.* 27.

[c] *Lib.* 4. *Bibliothecæ Sacræ. cum in* Cucuzum, *&c.*

[d] *Ibid. uſque in hanc diem utuntur hujus tranſlationis Lectione, ſummâ cum utilitate.*

[e] *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. *Contra Hæreſes.*

[f] *Lib.* 5. Θεραπευτικὴ, *de curand. Græcorum affectibus.* Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν, *&c.*

Hebrew Tongue, (i. e. *the Old Teſtament*) *being tranſlated not only into the* Greek, *but into the* Roman, Egyptian, Perſian, Indian, Armenian, Scythian, Sauromatian *Tongues: and to ſum up all, into all the Languages which the Nations thro-out the World do ſpeak.*

Phil. Theodoret here ſpeaks of the Old Teſtament tranſlated into all Languages, but not of the New.

Theoph. If one, we may ſuppoſe the other; where the New Teſtament, being written in Greek, was not underſtood, doubtleſs it was tranſlated; ſeeing *Moſes*, and the Prophets Writings were communicated in all Languages unto the World, principally to give teſtimony unto the Goſpel. But not to heap up Quotations in vain, your own Friends acknowledge it. [a] *Sixtus Senenſis* gives a reaſon why ſuch Tranſlations uſeful before, ſhould now be prohibited for their inconvenience. *When Heretics urge, that the Holy Scriptures ſhould be tranſlated into the Mother Tongue of every Nation, becauſe heretofore they were ſo, to the great benefit of the Church, I anſwer, This is a fooliſh Argument; for many other things were formerly inſtituted, which afterwards were abrogated for their inconvenience.* So pleads *Alphonſus de Caſtro, loco citato.*

Phil. I have ſeveral times intimated this Plea, That the Church, becauſe of inconveniences diſcovered, hath as great reaſon now to withhold the Scriptures from the Peoples reading, and to forbid vulgar Tranſlations, as the former times had to encourage them.

Theoph. This is your only Sanctuary to fly unto, in this and many other Controverſies between us; That the Wiſdom of the Church is the beſt Judge of times and ſeaſons, and upon due conſiderations, hath power to alter and change the ſtate of things, even againſt the Primitive Rule, and the Primitive Practice. And becauſe I will not interrupt our preſent Diſcourſe, I will reſerve this Point unto another ſeaſon, and now expect you ſhould produce your due Conſiderations and Reaſons againſt vulgar Tranſlations of the Holy Scriptures, and the Peoples reading them. I muſt tell you, they had need be demonſtrative, to conclude againſt the Teſtimony of the Holy Scripture, of the Holy Fathers, and againſt the practice of the Church for nine hundred Years, for that Declaration I produc'd of Pope *John* the 9th, was in the end of the 9th Century.

Phil. When you hear them, you may judge. [b] *Bellarmine* ſhews it neceſſary unto Church Communion, and Unity thro-out the World, *That the public uſe and reading of the Scripture, ſhould be in the moſt common Language in the World, that Churches may communicate one with another.* For this cauſe the Holy Scriptures were firſt written in Greek, which then was the moſt univerſal Language: whereunto the Latine Tongue now ſucceeds, as being underſtood by the Learned of every Nation. By this

[a] *Lib. 6. Biblioth. Annotat. 152. Sed id quod hæretici contendunt, &c.*

[b] *Lib. 2. De verbo Dei, cap. 15. Ut publicus uſus Script. ſit in lingua communi.*

means General Councils are held, wherein generally they underſtand and ſpeak Latine.

Theoph. We deny not that the Scripture ſhould be read in Greek or Latine, by thoſe that underſtand them; mean while, for the benefit of the common People in every Country, they may have the Scripture in their vulgar Tongue, and never obſtruct Catholic Communion, or General Councils. And withal, we know the Biſhops of the Greek and Latine Churches have held many Councils together, their diverſity of Tongues not impeding; where they did not mutually underſtand one another, they had Interpreters. But I grant, in ſuch General Learned Aſſemblies, the moſt common Language is moſt uſeful.

Phil. But [a] *Bellarmin* reaſons farther, *That vulgar Tranſlations for the Peoples reading the Scripture, would not be beneficial to them, becauſe, when tranſlated, the People cannot underſtand them without Interpreters; for we who underſtand the Latine, are often forc'd to conſult learn'd Expoſitors,* ſaith he.

Theoph. This indeed is one Artifice of your Church, whereby ſhe ſatisfies her Children without the Divine Food of Gods Word, and makes them be content without the Holy Scripture in their own Tongue. You perſwade the People, they cannot read the Scriptures and underſtand them, unleſs they be minc'd and carv'd to them, by the Nurſing Fathers of the Church, their Prieſts and Paſtors, *As Mothers chew the Bread and Meat they give to little Children, not commiting to them the whole morſel* [b]. And thus you hold them alwaies in their Infancy, as Children and Babes in Chriſt, and feed them neither with ſtrong Meat, nor the Milk of Gods Word, except they draw it out of the Churches Breaſts: for they muſt not read the Holy Scriptures, where they are plain and eaſie to be underſtood, becauſe of ſome hard places which they may miſunderſtand. Now we approve, that the Word of God ſhould be rightly divided unto the People by the Miniſters of the Goſpel; and withal, according to the Tenor of Holy Scriptures, and the Holy Fathers, we exhort the People to ſearch & ſtudy the Scriptures themſelves, and draw Waters out of the Wells of Salvation: to drink the Waters of Life out of the Fountain, as well as thro the Conduit of Preaching and Interpretation. But [c] *Chryſoſtom* hath long ſince anſwer'd your Objection, *To whom are not all things in the Goſpel manifeſt,* ſaith he? *Who, when he hears, That bleſſed are the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the like, needs an Interpreter; and withal, the ſigns, and miracles, and the hiſtories of Holy Scripture, are they not obvious to every underſtanding? and therefore it is a meer excuſe and cloak of your Idleneſs, to ſay, You cannot underſtand, and therefore you do not read the Scriptures. Doſt thou not*

[a] *Ibid. populus non intelligeret Exoph. & Pſal. &c.*

[b] *Matres dant infant. panem diſſect. & præmanſum, non integrum & ſolidum, Lib. 2. de Verb. Dei, cap. 16.*

[c] *Tom. 5. Homil. 3. in Lazarum.* Τίνι πάντα ἐν τῷ εὐ. &c.

understand what is written? How canst thou, when thou wilt not look into the Bible? Take the Book of God into your hands, and read, and make use of what thou understandest, and that which is obscure will follow: or if thou canst not find out the meaning of any place by the context, and often reading, repair to one more Learned, ask thy Teacher, communicate with the Guide of thy Soul about such things: shew much diligence to find the Truth, and God will not despise thy watchfulness and care; and if man should not interpret right, God himself would revele the Truth. And so he proceeds in the Exhortation, and gives an instance in the Eunuch, who even in his Journey in his Chariot did read the Prophet, and God sent him an Interpreter. And now I pray, observe the difference between the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and of yours. They exhort earnestly all sorts and conditions diligently to read the Scripture, that they may get Wisdom and Understanding; and assure them, That God will Crown their diligence with knowledge. You altogether discourage and forbid the People to read the Scripture, perswading them, that they cannot understand and profit themselves thereby.

Phil. Do you believe that all things written in the Gospels are plain and easie, as you bring *Chrysostom* to affirm? By this you may judg of his Hyperbolical Expressions, which I before observ'd out of *Bellarmin.*

Theoph. You must not take his Words so strictly, but that for the most part what is written is clear; and when we understand not, he adviseth us to consult. Meanwhile, it is very unjust to with-hold such an inestimable Treasure, as is Gods Holy Word, from the People, because some passages are obscure and hard to be understood; whereas the far greater part of the Holy Scriptures (being Historical or Moral, or the plain discovery of Divine Mysteries, and fulfilling of Prophesies, matters of Faith, and matters of Practice) is most evident, and condescending to the meanest capacities. If in some difficult and deep places of Holy Scripture the Elephant may swim, *i. e.* the most Learned may find work enough to fathom them; in other places, the Lamb may wade, *i. e.* the meanest understanding may apprehend them, as *Augustin* hath made the Allusion.

Phil. [a] *Bellarmin* shews, *How the Scriptures become more obscure by their Translations, one Language being not able to express the Idioms of another.*

Theoph. This Argument proves more then he or you would have it, even against your Darling vulgar Latine Translation. We easily grant the Originals, as the Fountain, to be most clear unto those who can understand and consult them. Yet Translations made with Learning, and Judgment, and Fidelity, give the full sense of Holy Scriptures, altho they may come short of some Elegancies and Proprieties of the Origi-

[a] *Lib. 2. De verb. Dei, cap. 15. Eo sunt obscuriores quo magis in peregrinis Ling. transferuntur.*

nals.

nals. And unto the People who underſtand the Language of the Tranſlation, the Word of God is certainly more manifeſt, then if it were lock'd up in an unknown Tongue, altho it be the Original.

Phil. [a] *Bellarmin* in his great Wiſdom and Obſervation looks farther, and diſcovers, *How the People inſtead of reaping Fruit, uſually receive detriment by reading the Scripture, eaſily taking the occaſion of Errors, both in matters of Faith, and Precepts of Life, and moral Converſation.* From reading the Holy Scriptures, and not righly underſtanding them, ſpring up Hereſies and corruption of Mens manners.

Theoph. [b] *Chryſoſtom* in his great Piety and Fidelity, aſſures us the contrary. For (as I have cited him before) upbraiding his hearers with their ſupine negligence in reading and ſtudying the Holy Scripture, he tells them, *Hence ariſe myriads of evils, even from the ignorance of Gods Word.* And to croſs point-blank *Bellarmines* diviſion of Corruptions in Doctrine, and in Manners, from reading the Scripture, he tells them, *That by the neglect of reading and underſtanding the Scripture, have proceeded the peſt of many Hereſies, the neglect of Mens lives, and the corruption of their manners.*

Phil. We grant, theſe Evils ſpring *from the ignorance of the Scripture*, which are *Chryſoſtoms* own words: [c] and that may be from the miſunderſtanding of them, and therefore we with-hold them from the People, leaſt they ſhould wreſt and pervert them.

Theoph. But this is the plain way to make them altogether ignorant of the Scripture. And you will find in that place, *Chryſoſtoms* complaint was, *Not that they did miſinterpret, but that they did neglect to read the Scripture*: And he had ask'd the Queſtion before with indignation, [d] *How canſt thou underſtand, who wilt not vouchſafe to look into the Scripture?* And in another place, [e] he ſadly complains for the growth of the *Manichees* Hereſie, and lays it to the charge of his Hearers for neglecting the Scripture, *None of you*, ſaith he, *heed the Scripture; for if we did ſo, we ſhould not only keep our ſelves out of the ſnare of Deceit and Errors, but free others alſo, and draw them out of the pit wherein they were taken.* Obſerve, I pray, the direct oppoſition between your Doctors, and the Primitive Fathers. The Peoples reading of the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue is a great cauſe of Hereſie, and corruption of Manners, ſay you: The neglect of reading the Scripture is the cauſe, ſay they.

Phil. 'Tis in vain to urge Autority againſt Experience. [f] *Bellarmin* ſhews, how Sects and Hereſies have ſwarmed, where the vulgar ſort

[a] *Ibid. Populus non ſolum non capit fructum, è Script. ſed & detrimentum; occaſionem ſc. errandi tum in doctr. fidei, tum præcept. vitæ.*

[b] *Præfatione in Epiſtolam ad Rom.*

[c] Ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν ἀγνοίας.

[d] Πῶς δυνήσῃ τοῦτον νοῆσαι, &c.

[e] *Homil.* 8. *in Epiſtolam ad Hebræos*, Οὐδεὶς οὖν ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν τῶν γραφῶν, &c.

[f] *Loco cit. ſupra.*

read.

read and ſtudy the Scriptures: He tells you, how *David George* knew no other Language but the Dutch, and yet could prove himſelf out of the Scripture to be the *Meſſiah*, and the Son of God. And that *Æneas Sylvius*, who wrote the *Bohemian* Hiſtory, aſcribes the groſs Errors of the *Thaborites* and *Orebites*, and the other Sects among the *Bohemians*, unto the common Peoples ſtudying the Scripture: and therefore [a] *Luther*, ſaith he, call'd the Scripture, *The Book of Heretics*.

Theoph. For *David George*, that Dutch Monſter, altho I do not underſtand the Language, yet I am perſwaded his Mother Tongue never promted him to ſuch horrible Blaſphemies; neither did the Holy Scripture, which he read in his Dutch, give the occaſion; unleſs by Propheſie and Prohibition. Chriſt had foretold, how Deceivers ſhould come in his Name, and in his Perſon, *Mark* 13. 21. *That falſe Chriſts ſhould ariſe, and men ſhould ſay, Lo here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt; but go not after them, and believe them not.* You ſee therefore how the Scripture would have fore-warn'd and fore-arm'd him againſt ſuch a Blaſphemous attemt, had he not bin given over to reprobate mind. You may as well ſay, our Saviors converſe with *Judas* made him the Traitor. As for the *Bohemian* Heretics, (as your Doctors commonly call them) we know the Court of *Rome* was much perplex'd with their clamor and demands, to have the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue, and the Communion in both kinds, *&c.* and ſo bitter things are written againſt them: but when you ſhall inſtance in any particulars of their damnable Doctrines (as you ſuppoſe) I will undertake to clear the knowledg and reading of the Holy Scripture from the imputation, That they did erre, becauſe they knew the Scripture. *Ye do therefore greatly erre, becauſe ye know not the Scripture*, Mark 12. 24. ſaith our Bleſſed Savior to the Sadduces. The *Bohemians* did therefore erre, becauſe they did read and know the Scripture, ſay you. As for *Luther*'s calling the Scriptures the Book of Heretics, *Bellarmine* cites not the place; and if they do not bely him (according to their accuſtomed dealing with him and others) we do blame him, and think not our ſelves obliged to juſtifie the fumes of heat and choler, or the infirmities of good Men. But now what will you ſay, if I turn the Scales, and ſhew you how Hereſies and damnable Doctrines have bin minted in the Brains of ſubtle Clerks, and not of the ſimple Laity, in compariſon. *Marcion* and *Arrius* were Prieſts. *Neſtorius*, *Sergius*, *Dioſcorus*, Patriarchs and Prelates. *Eutyches*, an Abbot; and all theſe Broachers of Hereſie. And ſuch Men of Learning and Reputation, are likely to do much more miſchief in ſeducing the People, then ſome obſcure and ſimple Phanatics. And we have cauſe to fear, that ſome Mercurial Wits beyond the Seas have laid the Scenes, and come over *Incognito* in the miſt of our Diſtractions and Troubles, to act their parts, and give Life and Motion to the Phlegmatic Humors of our Separatiſts; who whil'ſt they dream of Popery, and mightily declaim and

[a] *Lutherus Scrip. Librum Hereticorum vocavit.*

fight

fight againſt it, are led by many of the Principals and Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*: upon your account therefore, wiſe Men ſhould withhold the Scripture rather from the Learned, who are able to do moſt miſchief, then from the multitude. But we affirm, neither one nor the other, That either Clerks or Peſants ſhould be reſtrain'd from reading the Bible for their Inſtruction and Salvation, out of a panic fear they ſhould wreſt and pervert them to their own deſtruction, and others. Every thing that is moſt uſeful, may become pernicious. Will you keep no Fire in your Chimney, for fear you ſhould burn your Houſe?

Phil. [a] *Bellarmine* gives another conſiderable Argument, That in the Holy Scriptures there are many ſeeming Contradictions, which if the common People in reading ſhould obſerve, not knowing how to reconcile them, they may be apt to queſtion the Infallibility and Truth of the Scripture.

Theoph. Theſe ſeeming Contradictions do not eaſily fall within the Obſervation of the vulgar, but of the Learned; and withal, they ought to read the Holy Scriptures with veneration, and due acknowledgment that they are the infallible Word of God, and dictates of his Holy Spirit, who cannot lye nor contradict himſelf: and upon this ground, when we apprehend any contradiction in Gods Word, we muſt diſtruſt our own judgment, and not queſtion the truth of Holy Scripture in any place, but our own apprehenſion, and apply our ſelves to the Learned for reconciliation and better ſatisfaction. But as to the other part of *Bellarmines* Aſſertion; Is it poſſible any ſhould conceive that the Holy Word of God ſhould contribute to the corruption of Mens manners, and debauch the Lives of ſuch as ſtudy it?

Phil. Yes, of the unwary Reader. For he inſtanceth in that paſſage of the *Canticles*, Cant. 1. 2. *Let him kiſs me with the kiſſes of his mouth.* And in another place, *Cant.* 8. 3. *His left hand ſhould be under my head, and his right hand ſhould embrace me.* He inſtances in *Davids* Adultery, and *Thamars* Inceſt, in the Patriarchs Concubines. Now the ruder ſort may make ill uſe of ſuch Expreſſions and Examples.

Theoph. And ſo may a carnal Prieſt, *Tit.* 1. 15. *For unto them that are defiled,* ſaith the Apoſtle, *nothing is pure, but even their mind and conſcience is defiled. But unto the pure, all things are pure.* And therefore in ſuch caſes, evil unto him that thinks evil. We ought to give unto Spiritual Songs a Spiritual ſenſe, and not a ſenſual. *Pſal.* 51. *Davids* Adultery is recorded, and his moſt ſignal Repentance; the Vices of the Patriarchs, together with their Virtues, to ſhew they were Men of like Paſſions with us, and ſubject to Infirmities. And the whole deſign of Scripture, tends unto our Sanctification and holineſs of Life, and therefore, one would think, may prove a ſufficient Antidote againſt the Infection of ſuch Examples: and withal, many who never read the Scripture may hear theſe Stories, and not be ſo well fortified againſt them. *Bel-*

[a] *Loco prædict.*

larmine

larmine, I know, made himſelf mirth with a Story related (as he ſaith) by a credible Perſon, [a] *That a Calviniſtical Miniſter of the Church of* England, *reading the 25th Chapter of* Eccleſiaſticus, *in the vulgar Tongue, where much is ſpoken of the malice and wickedneſs of a Woman; one of his hearers, a Woman, roſe up and ſaid, Is this the word of God? nay rather of the divel.* Whereunto I anſwer, That perhaps the poor Wretch, before the happy Reformation in *England*, being kept, *more Romano*, in great ignorance of the Scriptures, thought it ſtrange to hear ſuch paſſages againſt her Sex, and was promted to Blaſpheme; whereas, had ſhe bin converſant in the Word of God, ſhe would have learn'd to Bleſs and not Blaſpheme, to govern her Paſſion, and rule her Tongue, and to keep ſilence at the Church, the Apoſtle not permitting her there to ſpeak. [c] *And withal, the Pope, who call'd the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt a Fable, was the more notorious Blaſphemer.* As for his taunt of a Calviniſtical Miniſter of the Church of *England*, he knew well, that our worthy Reformers choſe not *Calvin* for their Maſter. We are bound to honor him for his great Learning and Labor in the Work of the Lord, but not to ſubſcribe in all Points unto his Doctrine or Diſcipline: and yet, without doubt, *John Calvin* compar'd with *Ignatius Loiola*, the Father of *Bellarmines* Order, was a Saint.

Phil. Theſe are Impertinencies to vent your ſpleen. But what ſay you to *Bellarmines* next Conſideration, That if vulgar Tranſlations be permitted, they muſt be changed every Age with the Language of the Country, and ſo there would never be an end of Tranſlating; and fit Men to undertake that great Work, may probably be wanting.

Theoph. I ſay that *Bellarmine* wanted Modeſty and Conſideration to aſſert that, which the Experience of all Ages contradicts; namely, That the vulgar Tongue of every Country changeth for the moſt part in the compaſs of an hundred Years; whereas his moſt part muſt be contracted into ſome few Words and Phraſes, every Age refining, but not changing or deſtroying the Language of a People.

Phil. The laſt Argument of *Bellarmine* is this, That the Majeſty of Divine Service (and we may add, of the Holy Scripture) requires a more grave and venerable Language, then is the vulgar. And this part of his Argument I have already propoſed, but that which follows is conſiderable. [d] *Eſpecially ſeeing, in Holy Myſteries, many things there are which ſhould be concel'd from vulgar apprehenſions.* And this Pope *Gregory* the 7th urgeth, as a reaſon of his denial unto the requeſt of the Duke of *Bohemia*, that his Subjects might enjoy their public Service

[a] *Loco cit. ſupra, audivi ab homine fide digno, &c.*

[b] *Iſtudne eſt verbum Dei? imo potius diaboli.*

[c] *Leo decimus, qui diſſolute reſpondit Cardinali* Bembo, *Quantum nobis profuit hæc fabula Chriſti, ſatis eſt omnibus ſeculis notum. Joh. Balæus centuriâ 8vâ illuſtrium ſcriptorum Britanniæ, pag. 636.*

[d] *Loco citato præſertim cum in Sacris Myſteriis multa ſint quæ ſecreta eſſe debeant.*

in

in the *Sclavonian*, i. e. the vulgar Tongue, [a] *Upon due conſideration*, ſaith he, *I have obſerv'd, that Almighty God was pleas'd that the Holy Scriptures ſhould be obſcure in ſome places, leaſt that being evident to all Men, they ſhould be cheap and contemtible.*

Theoph. This is in truth an occult cauſe, the uſual refuge of ſuch as can give no reaſon. I may call this the myſtery of your Church, if not the myſtery of Iniquity: That God deſign'd ſome things in his Word and in his Service ſhould be concel'd from the vulgar, leaſt they ſhould breed contemt. I had thought the Word of God, the more it was underſtood and diſcovered, the more veneration it would procure; and ſo all the Myſteries of the Goſpel. The Jews indeed had their veils and partitions; and into the inner Tabernacle, only the High Prieſt did enter once every Year, and into the outward Tabernacle the Prieſts every day, and the People ſtood in the outward Courts: The Holy Ghoſt thus ſignifying, *Heb.* 9. 8. *That the way into the Holieſt of all was not yet made manifeſt, while as the firſt Tabernacle was yet ſtanding*, ſaith the Apoſtle. But then ſpeaking of their condition under the Goſpel, he adds, *Heb.* 10. 19, 20. *But we, Brethren, have boldneſs to enter into the Holieſt by the Blood of Jeſus; by a new and living way which he hath conſecrated for us.* When Chriſt was Crucified, the veil of the Temple rent from top to bottom; that which was hidden was made manifeſt, Propheſies fulfill'd, and Myſteries revel'd: The Goſpel is the Revelation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the great Light of the World, whoſe property is to diſcover, not to conceale; and leaſt the Majeſty of ſuch glorious Truths and Myſteries revel'd ſhould dazle the Eies of our Underſtanding, lo, they are clothed in Scripture with humility of ſpeech. And St *Auguſtin* [b] tells us, *The Holy Scriptures invite all to read and underſtand them, by their great condeſcention to our capacities, feeding all, not only with manifeſt Truths, but alſo with hidden verities.* Let us therefore never ſpeak of deſign'd concelements in the Goſpel of Chriſt, *wherein the myſtery which hath bin hid from ages, and from generations, is now made manifeſt unto the Saints*, as St *Paul* ſpeaks, *Coloſſ.* 1. 26. And the ſame Apoſtle expreſly tells us, 2 *Cor.* 4. 3, 4. *If our Goſſel be hid, it is hid to them that are loſt, in whom the God of this World hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, leaſt the Light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt, who is the Image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them.* And now, I pray, tell me, Have you found your Argument unanſwerable? never believe the wit of Man can bring Demonſtrations againſt the Truths of God. Your great Champion *Bellarmine* hath not brought a probable Argument againſt the Peoples reading and hearing the Holy Scripture, and Divine Service in the vulgar Tongue, which is at preſent the Controverſie between us.

[a] *Ex hoc nempe ſæpe volventibus liquet non immerito ſacram ſcript. omnipotenti Deo placuiſſe, &c.* Bib. con. Tom. 7. part. 1. Ep. Greg. l. 7. Epiſt. 11.

[b] Tom. 2. Epiſtola 3. ad Voluſianum. *Invitat omnes humili ſermone, quos non ſolum manifeſtâ Paſcat, ſed & ſecretâ exerceat veritate.*

Phil. If your ſelf be Judge, the Queſtion is determined. But I have not yet done, until I have propoſ'd two ſerious Conſiderations more againſt publiſhing the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue, wherewith *Peter Sutor*, a Carthuſian, hath furniſh'd me. The firſt is this, [a] *It will make Laborers, Men and Women, neglect their buſineß, whilſt they ſpend the time in reading the Scripture, which they ſhould imploy about their houſhold affairs, and neceſſary occupations.*

Theoph. This is a great Crime, tending to the ruine of many Families. But alas! too general experience proves the contrary, that Men and Women are not ſo eaſily drawn from the cares and buſineſs of the World, to mind Heavenly things; from idle Communications, to the Holy Scriptures. You have heard how *Chryſoſtom* complains of the contrary, That ſuch as had Bibles never look'd into them, bound them up in coſtly Covers, and lock'd them up as hidden Treaſures; and they pretended the Incumbrances of the World for their excuſe. Our Bleſſed Savior, in the Parable of the Sower, ſheweth, *Matth.* 13. 22. *How the cares of the world, like thorns, choke the good ſeed of Gods word.* And your Monks fear is, leaſt reading the Word ſhould hinder the neceſſary cares and buſineſs of life. It ſeems of late, the World is much alter'd for the better, that the hearts of Men ſhould be ſo endear'd unto the Holy Scripture, that if they be not with-held from them, Men would neglect their Callings. But theſe are fond Imaginations; you know the Holy Scriptures ſtrictly enjoin every one *to follow his calling*, 1 Cor. 7. 20. Promiſe the Bleſſing of God *upon the diligent hand*, Prov. 10. 4. and 12. 24. Command, *That ſuch as will not labor, ſhould not eat*, 2 Theſſ. 3. 10. And *Solomon*, in the laſt Chapter of his Proverbs, hath ſet forth a good Houſewife ſo excellently, that it is not poſſible a wiſe Woman, minding that Chapter, ſhould neglect her buſineſs. But what is your Carthuſians ſecond Conſideration, againſt publiſhing the Holy Scripture in the vulgar Tongue.

Phil. It ſeems you want work, and you do ſo pleaſe your ſelf with your conceited Anſwers, that I am unwilling any longer to tickle your humor, and to propoſe any more Objections.

Theoph. It is high time indeed to draw to a concluſion, and therefore I did haſten you to that which you reſerv'd, and 'tis my requeſt it may be your laſt Propoſal.

Phil. If you will needs hear it, it is this: If the common People ſhould be permitted conſtantly to read the Holy Scripture in the vulgar Tongue, [b] *They would murmur againſt ſo many Burthens and Impoſitions of the Church, which they find not required in the Book of God; and ſo may become ſtubborn and diſobedient to the commands of the Church.*

[a] *Mulierculæ in Lect. Bibl. verſantes curam rei domeſticæ negligent. Idiotæ huic negotio dediti non curabunt, &c. De tralat. Bib. c. 22. p. 96.*

[b] *Facile plebs murmurabit cum ſibi tot onera imponi cumperiet præter Scripturam.* Pet. Sutor, *ibidem.*

Theoph.

Theoph. This hath hit the nail upon the head. Never any Man ſpake more to the purpoſe in this Point. It is a moſt ingenious confeſſion, That if the Scripture were permitted to be read by all ſorts, farewel to all the intolerable Burthens, and ſuperſtitious Impoſitions of *Rome*. As he that doth evil hateth the light; ſo your Church requiring many unwarrantable ſuperſtitious things of her Children, wiſely keeps them from giving heed unto the Word of God, which ſoon would diſcover her Impoſtures.

Phil. I beſeech you, *Theophilus*, do not end a Controverſie with a Quarrel. You are my Gueſt and Friend, and after theſe heats of Diſputation, it will concern me to divert you with ſuch Civilities, and ſlender Entertainment, as the Houſe at preſent will afford. I hope you will reſolve to tarry ſome time with me, and give your ſelf and me the opportunity to debate the other Points in difference between us. You are as welcome as your Heart can wiſh.

A SECOND CONFERENCE CONCERNING The half Communion IN THE CHURCH of ROME.

Theoph. SIR, I am much obliged to you for your kind and civil Entertainment, and much more for that freedom of Discourse which your great Moderation hath allow'd me, when sometimes in the defence of Truth, and through a flaming Zeal that you should recover it, I have neglected the Ceremonies of Friendship, to hold the substance; I have not sought so much to please, as to convince you.

Phil. Truth is a Jewel, which all are concern'd to purchase and hold fast; but where this Treasure is to be found, is the great Question: I have bin diligent in the search, and the Providence of God, as I believe, hath not been wanting in conducting me unto the Catholic Church, the great Repository of Divine Truths.

Theoph. Doubtless, the Holy Catholic Church is so, the Truth it self hath promis'd to be with her unto the end of the World. The Catholic Church will alwaies hold the Catholic Faith; and by this Rule we judg, particular National Churches to be true Members of the Church Catholic, as they hold the Catholic Faith.

Phil. I mean the Roman Catholic Church, whose Faith, as *Peters*, cannot fail; and which hath alwaies laid a just claim to be the Catholic Church, wherein the Truths of God, and Eternal Life, are conserv'd as her peculiar Treasure, and none, who do not communicate with her, can share in them.

Theoph. That which you call a just claim, will in its due place appear a most intolerable Usurpation; and such as make the Catholic Church and the Roman Church to be reciprocal terms of the same amplitude and extent, have forfeited their Logic and their Reason together. The Church of *Rome* at best, was a part and Member of the Church Catholic; and now since, thro her manifold Corruptions, she hath wellnigh forfeited that Interest: lo! with an unparallel'd Insolence, she flies at

at all, and prescribes to the name of Catholic more solicitously, perhaps out of a jealousie the Catholic Church should totally exclude her, and out of a consciousness she hath deserved it. But this digression would usher in a large Controversie, besides our present purpose, and I design first to insist upon the manifold Errors of your Church, one after another, as our occasions will permit; and then, if you please, we will dispute the Point, Whether the Church of *Rome* can be the only true Catholic Church, which has so many ways departed from the Catholic Doctrine.

Phil. Your confidence, *Theophilus*, is no proof.

Theoph. I hope it shall appear to you and to the World, that my Reasons and my Proofs have made me confident. You may remember a second obvious Exception, which I propos'd against the practice of the Church of *Rome*, was her half Communion, in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, Her denying the Cup unto the Laiety. If you please, we will now take it into Consideration.

Phil. Most willingly: For I find a great noise and clamor is rais'd about it, and the Grand Sacrilege of the Church of *Rome* is proclaim'd out of the Pulpit and the Press; and from some appearances of Truth, your severe Imputations and Calumnies pass for currant with the undiscerning multitude.

Theoph. These appearances of Truth (as you are pleas'd to call them) are no less then Demonstrations, carrying so much Light and Evidence in them, that even the undiscerning multitude in reading the Holy Scriptures, are able at first sight to discover the incongruity of your Practice with the Rule; how, *teaching for Doctrines the commandments of men*, you evidently transgress the commands of God.

Phil. This Artifice of yours, and Industry, to court the People into a prejudice against us, is to me a Demonstration, that you put no great confidence in the merits of your Cause. Do not so peremtorily conclude, before you have enter'd upon the Proof.

Theoph. I will prove your giving the Bread in the Holy Communion, and not the Cup unto the People, to be against the Institution of Christ, the end of the Sacrament, the practice of the Apostles and of the Church Catholic, for twelve hundred Years.

Phil. You have propos'd a good Method of Discourse, and I desire you would follow it.

Theoph. First, our Blessed Savior, immediatly before his Passion, instituted the Sacrament, and gave it to the Disciples present in both kinds, as three Evangelists record, *Matth.* 26. 26. As they were eating, *Jesus took Bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the Disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body*... ver. 27. *He took the Cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for remission of sins.* So we read in *Mark* 14. 22, 23. and he expresly testifieth of the Cup, That he gave it to them, and they all drank of it. Saint *Luke* after the same manner. And adds

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moreover, the command of Christ, *This do in remembrance of me*, Luke 22. 19.

Phil. I pray observe how that command is given, only when the Disciples receiv'd the Bread, and not when they took the Cup. The Words are these, *He took Bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my Body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the Cup after Supper, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood which is shed for you*, ver. 20. And [a] *Bellarmin* observes it as an instance of Gods wonderful Providence to make Heretics inexcusable, *And that we may understand it was the command of Christ, that the Sacrament should be distributed to all under the Species of Bread, but not so under the Species of Wine.*

Theoph. S[t] *Luke* saith, *Likewise also the Cup*: Intimating the same Institution for one and for the other.

Phil. We are not much concern'd in your gloss upon the Text.

Theoph. But you are in S[t] *Pauls*, who declares, That *after the same manner he took the Cup when he had supped, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood*, 1 Cor. 11. 25. the very Words of S[t] *Luke*. And then expresly adds the words of command of our Lord Christ, *This do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me*. Now what say you to the word of command given by Christ, to do this in remembrance of him, as well when he gave the Cup, as when he distributed the Bread unto the Disciples?

Phil. *Bellarmin* observes a difference. [b] *This do in remembrance of me*, is put absolutely even in S[t] *Pauls* relation, after the Consecration of the Bread; but after the Cup it is repeated with a Condition, *This do, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me*: not intimating, that the Cup must of necessity be given or taken; but if it be given or received, it should be done in remembrance of the Lords Passion.

Theoph. These are pitiful shifts; the words rather imply, Christians should often drink of the Cup in remembrance of their Savior. And the very next Verse confutes this conceit of *Bellarmin*, wherein *Paul* puts the condition, *as often*, both to eating and drinking, ver. 26. *For as often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lords death till he come.* And withal, while you triumph in S[t] *Lukes* relation, where the command of, *Do this*, is exprest only when our Savior gave the Bread; you do not consider that S[t] *Matthew* relates our Saviors charge when he gave the Cup, *Matth.* 26. 27. *Drink ye all of this.* And S[t] *Mark* records, *Mark* 14. 23. *He gave the Cup to them, and they all drank of it.*

Phil. To whom did Christ give this command, *Drink ye all of this?*

Theoph. To the Disciples, who did eat the Passover with him, and sup'd with him; and after Supper he Instituted the Holy Sacrament, and gave the command to observe it.

[a] *Tom. 3. Lib. 4. cap. 25. de Sacramento Eucharist. ut intelligeremus, &c.*

[b] *Ibid. Post panis consecrationem absolute positur, post calicem cum conditione.*

Phil.

Phil. But these Disciples were the twelve Apostles, as is manifest from St. *Luke's* relation, *Luke* 21. 14. *When the hour was come, (to keep the Passover) he sat down, and the twelve Apostles with him.* Now we grant, that the Apostles, and the Bishops and Priests their Successors, must receive in both kinds, but not the People. *Bellarmin* reasons thus, [a] *He gave the Cup only to the Apostles, and therefore only to them he said, Drink ye all of this.*

Theoph. By this subtilty you altogether exclude the People from being concern'd at all in Christs command to receive the Sacrament: for to whom he said, *Take, eat, this is my Body*, to them he said, *Drink ye all of this*; that is, as you say, only to the Apostles. Upon what account therefore do ye administer the Lords Body unto the People?

Phil. To this you have [b] *Bellarmins* Answer, *Although he did not give the Sacrament unto the People, he did not forbid it should be given to them.*

Theoph. So neither hath he forbidden the Cup should be given to them. But I pray hear what one of your own *Benedictine* Abbots, *Paschasius*, in his Book *De corpore Christi*, c. 15. (as *Bellarmin* quotes him) saith, as a Comment upon those Words, [c] *Drink ye all of this*; *All, as well Ministers as other Believers*. Hear what another of your own side saith upon the Text, and *Bellarmins* Comment [d], *There be some false Catholics, that fear not to stop the Reformation of the Church what they can. These share no Blasphemies, least that other part of the Sacrament should be restor'd to the lay People*; *for, say they, Christ spake, Drink ye all of this only to the Apostles; but the words of the Mass be these, Take and eat you all of this. Here I would know of them, whether this was spoken only to the Apostles; then must Lay-men abstain likewise from the element of Bread, which to say, is an Heresie yea, a pestilent & detestable Blasphemy. It is therefore consequent*, saith he, *that both these words (Eat ye, Drink ye) were spoken to the whole Church.*

Phil. It seems the Doctors vary in their Opinions. But the Truths of God, and the Canons of the Church, depend not upon the humors of Men, and private Interpretation.

Theoph. You seem all along to take *Bellarmin's* Words for Truth, his Answers for Oracles: And do you now except against private Interpretation? But what say you to that Argument wherein [e] *Bellarmin* observes *Luther* so much to triumph? The Blood of the New Testament was shed for the People, as well as for the Apostles; and our Savior gives the Cup unto all for whom he shed his Blood; nay, and for that very cause, bids them drink all of it, *Matth.* 26. 27, 28 *For this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for remission of sins.* If Christs Blood was shed not only for the Apostles, but for many for remission of

[a] *Ibid. Dedit solis Apostolis, eo dixit solis Apostolis, bibite ex hoc omnes.*
[b] *Ibid Etsi non dedit, non prohibuit.*
[c] *Bibite ex hoc omnes, tam ministri quam reliqui credentes,*
[d] Gerardus Lorichius, *de Missa publica proroganda.*
[e] *Ibid. De hoc argumento* Lutherus *triumphat.*

ibus.

ſins; the Cup ought to be given not only to them, but to many others. *Who dares ſay*, ſaith *Luther*, [*that Chriſts Blood was not ſhed for Laiks? and therefore who ſhould dare to with-hold the Blood of the New Teſtament from them?*

Phil. As you have taken the Objection out of *Bellarmin*, ſo you may his Anſwer, [*That if the Blood of Chriſt muſt be given in the Sacrament to all thoſe for whom it was ſhed, then it muſt be given to all men; Turks, and Jews, and Ethnics. For his Blood was ſhed for all men, as he proves from the Text*, 1 John 2. 2. *And he is the propitiation for our ſins; and not for ours only, but alſo for the ſins of the whole world.*

Theoph. This is a Cavil! The Sacraments are the Seals of the Church, und appertain only to Church-Members; and when Turks, and Jews, and Pagans, ſhall be converted and receiv'd into the Church of Chriſt, they ſhall partake of her Treſures. I am amazed to ſee your Learned Champion make ſuch irrational Replies, but his baffled Cauſe will afford no better.

Phil. Do not conclude him foil'd, before you have tried his ſtrength.

Theoph. It is my deſign thro-out, to examine his Objections and Anſwers, and I have hitherto found them ſo inconſiderable, that I am almoſt confident for the future.

Phil. Keep your confidence to your ſelf, and produce your Reaſons.

Theoph. I have one Argument more to urge for the Communion to be receiv'd by all in both kinds, from our Saviors words, *John* 6. 53. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* This Text the *Bohemians* moſt inſiſted upon in the Council of *Baſil*, when their Delegates there deſired the Cup might be allow'd them. And *Æneas Sylvius* [b] relates, how *Petrus Dreſenſis*, a School-maſter in *Prague*, repaired to the Preacher of St *Michaels* Church, by name *Jacoballus*, eminent for his Learning and Converſation, asking him, *How interpreting the Holy Scripture to the People, he had not ſo long ta ken notice of a grand Error which would ruine the Church, in giving the Sacrament only in one kind; whereas our Savior, in* St John, *hath ſaid expreſly, Unleſs ye eat the fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his blood, &c.* Hereupon, this Learned Preacher ſearch'd the Fathers, and finding the giving of the Cup unto the People approv'd, eſpecially by *Dionyſius* and *Cyprian*, he earneſtly exhorted the People of *Prague*, no longer to neglect or be content without the Communion of the Cup, without which they could not be ſaved: and ſo multitudes were promted to receive in both kinds, and importunate with the Council of *Baſil* to have it allow'd. Many Heretics, as he ſaith, rejoicing that they had found an Article

[a] *Ib. Si ſanguis Domini dandus eſſet omnibus pro quibus fuſus eſt, dandus eſſet* Turcis, Judæis, Ethnicis, *&c.*

[b] *Hiſt. Bohem. cap.* 35. *Literarum doctrinâ & morum præſtantiâ juxta clarus.*

grounded

grounded upon Scripture, whereby either the ignorance or impiety of the Church of *Rome* might be discover'd. I have given in this Story, to shew of how great consequence, in the judgment of the *Bohemians* this Text was, to prove even the necessity of receiving the Sacrament in both kinds; and therefore let me hear your Answer.

Phil. *Bellarmin* takes notice of all these Circumstances, and gives three Answers to that Text, *Except ye eat the flesh, &c.* His first Answer is this, [a] *The weight of this Precept doth lie in the receiving the flesh and blood of Christ, and not in the manner of receiving it. Now the body and blood of Christ are truly receiv'd in either kind; whole Christ being communicated in the bread, as also in the Cup, and therefore the People are not depriv'd of the vertue of the Sacrament, and shall live by it.*

Theoph. The Text expresly speaks of drinking his Blood, and that you cannot pretend to do by receiving and eating his Flesh only in the Sacrament, altho his Blood and Soul be there also (according to your Opinion) by concomitancy. Of which we shall say more hereafter.

Phil. If you stand so much upon the letter of the Text, which seems to imply the receiving of Christs Fleth and Blood distinctly, one by eating, and the other by drinking, then we answer you another way. That in Holy Scripture many times [b] the copulative is put for a disjunctive; as when *Peter* said to the impotent Man at *Solomons* Porch, *Acts* 3. 6. *Silver and Gold have I none*; the meaning is, he had neither Silver nor Gold, for either would have sufficed for an Alms. And if the Text be so Interpreted, it will not hurt us, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, or drink his blood, &c.*

Theoph. This is to make of Gods Word a Nose of Wax; to put the Holy Scripture out of Joint, to help a broken Cause. This way would serve a Jesuit in another case of Conscience. Is any one scrupulous of rebelling against his Prince? The Father will satisfie him with that of *Solomon, Fear God, or honor the King*: if you do one, you may omit the other. *But what God hath join'd, let not Man put asunder*, saith our Blessed Savior. Never turn a Copulative into a Disjunctive.

Phil. Well, If these two Answers do not please, *Bellarmin* will fit you with a third. There are many Precepts in Holy Scripture, which are given to all, and yet are design'd to be observ'd only by some; as that Blessing upon Mankind at first, *Encrease and multiply*, and yet all Men are not oblig'd to Marry and get Children. And so this saying of our Savior, *If ye eat not the flesh of the Son of Man, &c.* it is spoken to the Church Universal, and yet if observ'd by some, it sufficeth. The Priest taking the Sacrament in both kinds, shall convey Life thro Christ unto his whole Church.

Theoph. This Answer is not unlike the two former, if twisted toge-

[a] *Lib. 4. De Sacram. Euch. c. 25. vim hujus præcepti in re quæ sumitur, non in modo sumendi, consistere. Sumuntur tam corpus quam sanguis sub qualibet specie.*

[b] *In Script. conjunctio, &, accipitur pro disjunctiva.*

ther all are not worth a ruſh: they only publiſh to the World the Objection is unanſwerable, and ſo rather then they would be ſilent, they would put their Ciphers together, without one tittle of ſenſe and reaſon to make them ſignificant.

Phil. This is a quick way to anſwer an Argument or Reply, by ſaying it is inſignificant, and ſo diſmiſs it.

Theoph. If I omit any thing that is material, I deſire no favor: I know I ſhall hear of it with both Ears, for thoſe of your ſide are uſed to give no Quarter. Mean while I will follow my intended courſe, and ſhew, in the next place, how your half Communion is againſt the end of Chriſts Inſtituting the Sacrament.

Phil. Chriſt inſtituted theſe Holy Myſteries to confer Grace to the worthy Receivers; to feed them with the Celeſtial Food of his pretious Body and Blood, to convey unto their Souls remiſſion of ſins. So much the words of Inſtitution imply, *Take, eat, This is my Body which is given for you; and drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Teſtament which was ſhed for many for remiſſion of ſins.* Now all this is communicated as well under one kind, as under both: for whole Chriſt, his Body, and Blood, and his Divinity, is exhibited under the Species of Bread. For Chriſt expreſly ſaith, *It is my Body*: and if ſo, it is his Blood, and Life, and Divine Nature alſo. For Chriſt now liveth for ever, and the Union between his Soul and Body is indiſſoluble; whereſoever one is, the other muſt be, by a neceſſary concomitancy. And then for the God-head of Chriſt, ſince the great Myſtery of his Incarnation, that can never be ſeparated from the humane Soul and Body, which he aſſumed into one Perſon and ſubſiſtence with Himſelf. So the Council of *Trent* hath determin'd. [a] *Immediatly after the Conſecration, the very Body and Blood of our Lord, do exiſt under the Species of Bread and Wine, together with his Soul and Divinity. The Body indeed ſubſiſts under the Species of Bread, and the Blood under the Species of Wine, by vertue of the words of Conſecration; but by virtue of a Natural Connexion, whereby the parts of Chriſts humane Nature are, ſince his Reſurrection, for ever inſeparably united, under the Species of Bread, there is likewiſe the Blood of Chriſt, and under the Species of Wine, his Body, and his Soul under both; as alſo his Divinity, by reaſon of the Hypoſtatical Union.* And therefore the Council concludes, [b] *That as much is contain'd under either Species, as under both; even whole Chriſt intirely.*

Theoph. This is a new Model of Divinity, which was about two hundred Years in faſhioning and preparing, by their ſworn Servants, the School-men, for the Fathers of *Trent* to make uſe of, to under-prop the declining State of the Church of *Rome*. But I pray tell me, Why

[a] *Seſſ.* 13 *c.* 3. *Statim poſt Conſecrationem verum Domini noſtri corpus, verumque ſang. una cum Divinit. exiſtere ſub ſpecie panis & vini, &c.*

[b] *Veriſſ. eſt. tantundem ſub alterutra ſpecie atque ſub utraque contineri, totus & integer Chriſtus.*

did

did our Bleſſed Savior ſo diſtinctly ſay of the Bread, *This is my Body*; and of the Cup, *This is my Blood*, &c. if in either kind, both Body and Blood are included and receiv'd.

Phil. The Council, as you have heard before, anſwers this exactly, [a] *By the words of Conſecration, the Bread is chang'd only into the Body of Chriſt, and ſo the Wine into his Blood; but then by a natural connexion and concomitancy, each kind includes the other. The Body, and Blood, and Soul, and God-head of Chriſt, are inſeparable.*

Theoph. But why did Chriſt Inſtitute the Sacrament in both kinds, if to receive in one kind be as beneficial to the Soul?

Phil. The Eſſence of the Sacrament, [b] as *Bellarmin* ſhews, *is communicated in one kind, to wit, the Body and Blood of Chriſt: but as to the integrity, both are neceſſary.*

Theoph. You ſhall never find a School-man, without a nice Diſtinction to ſalve the matter. However, hereby you acknowledg the Sacrament in one kind to be maim'd and imperfect, wanting one of the integral parts. But I will not intangle the Diſcourſe with ſuch Niceties: You know our Bleſſed Savior expreſſeth one end of the Sacrament, That in remembrance of him it ſhould be given and received. And *Paul* ſhews, in what regard chiefly Chriſt is commemorated in the Sacrament, as he was Crucified, *For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye ſhew the Lords death till he come*, 1 Cor. 11. 26. Now you all grant, that the repreſentation of Chriſts death is made by both kinds in the Sacrament. The Bread and Wine apart, repreſents Chriſt Blood ſeparated from his Body. Breaking of Bread ſignifies, how Chriſts Body was wounded, and bruiſ'd, and broken. So *Paul* renders the words of Chriſts Inſtitution, 1 *Cor.* 11. 24. *This is my Body which is broken for you*, and therefore the Sacrament ſhould be given in both kinds, for a ſenſible repreſentation of Chriſts death.

Phil. The Church holds the commemoration of Chriſts death exactly in the Sacrifice of the Maſs; and this belongs only to the Prieſt, who of neceſſity muſt conſecrate Bread and Wine, and receive both; for this very reaſon, That he may ſo repreſent Chriſts death, and offer up his Body and Blood in Sacrifice; his Body as crucified, and his Blood ſhed. So a great Doctor of our Church, [c] *Alphonſus de Caſtro, The Prieſt commemorates Chriſt death upon the Altar, and not the People receiving the Sacrament. And therefore,* ſaith he, *the Prieſt of neceſſity muſt conſecrate both kinds, and receive them; becauſe, altho Chriſt is wholy contain'd in one kind, yet by one he is not ſignified and repreſented: for the Species of Bread only ſignifies and repreſents his Body; and that of Wine, his Blood*, &c.

[a] *Ibid. Corpus exiſtit ſub ſpecie panis, & ſang. ſub ſpecie vini, vi verborum, at vi naturalis connexionis & concomitantiæ*, &c.

[b] *Lib.* 4. *de Euchar. c.* 22. *Species panis & vini non tam eſſentiales quam integrales partes ſunt.*

[c] *Lib.* 6. *Adverſ. hæreſes. Mem. Dominicæ mortis agit Sacerdos in altari, non pop. quiprop. Sacerd. quoties celebrat non conſecrat unam ſpeciem ſine alterâ*, &c.

Theoph. We will not examine this new Doctrine of *Alphonſus* and the Schools, touching whole Chriſt in each Species, &c. but we will take his Conceſſion; That one kind doth not ſignifie or repreſent whole Chriſt, and his Death and Paſſion; and therefore ſuch as are bound to remember and ſhew the death of Chriſt, his Sacrifice upon the Croſs, and the Work of our Redemtion by his Blood ſhedding, they muſt of neceſſity receive the Sacrament in both kinds apart.

Phil. What will you conclude thence? ſeeing he hath told you that the Prieſt is concern'd, and not the People, to hold the remembrance of Chriſts death in the Sacrament, which he daily performs in the Office of the Maſs.

Theoph. But what care we what *Alphonſus* hath told us, or any of your New Doctors, ſeeing St *Paul* affirms the contrary? For writing to all the Saints of the Church of *Corinth*, he expreſly tells them, *As oft as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye ſhew the Lords death till he come.* And doubtleſs, as all Chriſtians are concern'd to keep a thankful remembrance of Chriſt, and of his Paſſion, ſo we muſt do it as he hath appointed, by receiving the Sacrament in both kinds: for only ſo as you have heard, his Death and Blood-ſhedding is repreſented to the Life. The Elements apart, ſhewing how his Blood was ſeparated from his Body; breaking of Bread, ſhewing how his Body was bruiſ'd and broken. In this reſpect we may believe St *Paul* ſaid to the *Galathians*, *That even before their eyes, Jeſus Chriſt had been evidently ſet forth crucified among them*, Gal. 3. 1.

Phil. This ſuits *Bellarmines* Obſervation well, that the People may ſee Chriſts Death repreſented in both kinds upon the Altar, and one ſeparate from the other, and ſo hold the commemoration of his Paſſion, altho they do not communicate in both kinds: and he obſerves, the Eye is the quicker ſenſe to affect and raiſe our Meditation, rather then the Touch or Taſt.

Theoph. Notwithſtanding the ſubtle Obſervation of your Doctors, you ſhall give us leave to follow Chriſts direction, to receive the Sacraments in both kinds in remembrance of him: and we will believe the Apoſtle, *That by eating this Bread, and drinking this Cup, we ſhew the Lords death*; and not by ſeeing the Wafers, and the Cup upon the Altar. And withal, the Sacrament is call'd the Lords Supper, wherein he Feaſts our Souls with his Fleſh, that is Meat indeed; and with his Blood, which is Drink indeed. Now to complete a Feaſt, there muſt be Meat and Drink, *Eſculenta & Poculenta*. And one of your Doctors ſaith, [a] *Under one kind of the Sacrament, is no perfect refection.*

Phil. Theſe things hold in Natural Food and Refections, but not in Spiritual. Hunger and thirſt in Grace, are not diſtinct Appetites, but haye the ſame Objects, as, *Bleſſed are they which do hunger and thirſt after*

[a] *Franciſcus à Victoria, de Euch. qu.* 87. *Non eſt perfecta refectio ſub unica ſpecie.*

righ-

righteouſneſs, Matth. 5. 6. And we read, how our Bleſſed Savior entertain'd the multitudes in the Wilderneſs with the Loaves, without Wine or Water.

Theoph. Thoſe are pretty ſubtleties for Jeſuits; but our Bleſſed Savior Inſtituting his Sacraments for all Believers, as well Idiots as Learned, deſign'd to confirm their Faith in Spiritual Truths by ſenſible Signs, and therefore choſe thoſe two Elements of Bread and Wine, to repreſent unto us, that as theſe naturally nuriſh the Body, ſo ſhould his Body and Blood exhibited in the Sacrament, in a Spiritual manner nuriſh the Soul. And therefore you would do well to leave the Signs and the Sacrament complete, and not deprive your ignorant People of ſuch Helps & Repreſentations. Your own School-men acknowledg the Sacrament to be maim'd and imperfect, as to the Sacramental part, and the ſignification without both kinds. [a] *Tho. Aquinus* determines, *That in regard to the Sacrament, both kinds are neceſſary; for the perfection of the Sacrament conſiſts in both, and therefore by no means the Prieſt that conſecrates, muſt receive the Body of Chriſt without the Blood.* [b] *But in regard to the Receivers, reverence and caution muſt be had, leaſt any undecencies ſhould happen, whereof the greateſt danger is in receiving the Cup, leaſt the Wine be ſpilt.* And ſo after the like ſort *Bonaventure.*

Phil. [c] *Aquinas* there tells you, how the Prieſt offers and takes the Cup in the behalf of the People. And ſo in the Prieſts communicating the Sacrament retains its perfection; in the Peoples communicating in one kind, it retains its reverence and due caution, leaſt any thing ſhould happen irreverently.

Theoph. We ſhall hereafter conſider your great Reaſons why you withhold the Cup from the Laity. At preſent I will follow my deſign, and ſhew that the practice both of the Apoſtles and of the Church, for twelve hundred Years, was to adminiſter the Sacrament unto the People in both kinds, as our Savior gave the Cup unto the Apoſtles. S[t] *Mark* expreſly ſaith, *They all drank of it*, Mark 14. 23. ſo they adminiſtred the Cup unto the Saints.

Phil. You have been already ſhew'd that they receiv'd the Sacrament at our Saviors hands, as Apoſtles and Prieſts, and ſo they had the Cup.

Theoph. Not ſo, for they Communicated then as Receivers, and as the common People; for our Bleſſed Savior was the Prieſt in that Adminiſtration. This ſome of your own Doctors affirm: for as when our Bleſſed Savior was Baptized by *John*, he condeſcended to repreſent the Perſon of a Diſciple, and *John* was the Maſter in that Scene: ſo when he gave the Sacrament to his Diſciples, he was the Prieſt, and they as the

[a] *Part.* 3. *qu.* 80. *Art.* 12. *Ex parte Sacramenti convenit quod utrumque ſumitur, quia in utroque perfectio, &c. Nullo modo debet corpus ſumi ſine ſang.*

[b] *Ex parte ſumentium req. ſumma rev. & cautela.*

[c] *Ib. ad* 3. *In perſona omnium ſang. offert & ſumit.*

People

People receiving in both kinds for a ſtanding Rule and Example unto all Poſterity.

Phil. [2] *We muſt live by Laws, and not by Example,* as the Lawyers wiſely determine in all Caſes.

Theoph. I had thought our Bleſſed Saviors Example had been a Law and Rule to Chriſtians, in ſuch things as fall within the compaſs of their imitation. *Learn of me,* ſaith our Bleſſed Savior, *for I am meek and lowly of heart.* But moreover, the Apoſtles then receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, had expreſs command, *hoc facite*; ſo to give the Sacrament unto others, as he had don to them.

Phil. When you Comment upon a Text, it ſhall not fail to ſpeak your ſenſe and do your work: But what will you ſay if our Savior himſelf adminiſtred the Sacrament in one kind. I hope this Practice and Example will ſatisfie you.

Theoph. Let me hear the Inſtance, and I will give my Anſwer.

Phil. In *Emaus* he gave the Sacrament unto thoſe two Diſciples, with whom he communed in the way. And S[t] *Luke* obſerves, *Immediatly their eies were opened, and they knew him,* Luke 24. 31. And it follows in that Chapter, *ver.* 35. *He was known of them in breaking of Bread.* This wonderful effect ſhews it was the Sacrament; and yet we read only of one kind which he conſecrated and gave unto them. The Text ſaith, *v.* 30. *He took Bread, and bleſſed it, and brake and gave unto them*; the Ceremonies exactly which our Savior uſ'd in his conſecration of the Sacrament.

Theoph. This will not prove what you deſire, That our Savior now gave the Sacrament to theſe two Diſciples; for theſe Circumſtances of giving Thanks, or Bleſſing, or breaking of Bread, were uſual at ordinary Meals: whereof we have a full proof in the *Acts of the Apoſtles.* We read there, *cap.* 27. how *in a great Tempeſt the Soldiers, and Mariners, and Priſoners, in all 276 Souls in the Ship, had faſted fourteen days* (we may ſuppoſe, ſo long they had made no ſetting Meals), *and* Paul, *being aſſured from God of all their ſafety, he exhorted them to be comforted, and to take ſome meat for their health ſake: and when he had thus ſpoken, he took Bread and gave thanks to God, and when he had broken it, he began to eat,* *ver.* 35. Here you have the ſame Ceremonies of taking of Bread, and bleſſing and breaking, and yet doubtleſs it was a common refection: ſure the Apoſtle did not give the Sacrament to ſo many Infidels in the ſhip.

Phil. The Caſe is not the ſame, neither the Expreſſions. For in *Luke* the word is, Εὐλόγησε, *He bleſſed,* the ſame which our Savior uſ'd in the Inſtitution of the Sacrament. But in your Inſtance it is, Εὐχαρίστησε τῷ Θεῷ, *He gave thanks*: only ſaid Grace before a Meal.

Theoph. Your Criticiſm will help you little. You know the Sacrament is call'd the Euchariſt, Εὐχαριστία, the very word which *Paul* uſed.

[2] *Vivendum Legibus non exemplis*

Phil.

Phil. But thoſe two at *Emaus* were Diſciples, and ſuch a notable Miracle enſuing, that their eies were open to know Chriſt at that inſtant in breaking of Bread, this proves it was the Sacrament they receiv'd.

Theoph. That was an accidental Diſpenſation. Our Bleſſed Savior, upon their importunity, turned with them into the Inn, ſat down to eat, and immediatly before he vaniſh'd out of their ſight, he was pleaſ'd to diſcover himſelf unto them.

Phil. [a] St *Auguſtin* affirms it was the Sacrament, and tells us, *That thro the power of the divel their eies were holden not to know Chriſt, who was pleaſ'd to permit it until they came to the Sacrament of Bread, that we ſhould underſtand all impediments of the enemy againſt knowing of Chriſt ſhall be remov'd, when we are united to his Body.*

Theoph. In this Paſſage *Auguſtin* doth not clearly aſſert what you would have him, but according to his uſual Expreſſions elſewhere, calling any myſtical thing by the name of Sacrament: he calls this, *Sacramentum panis*, becauſe it had a myſtical ſignification, being accompanied with that notable Circumſtance of the Diſciples eies being open'd to know him: And the allegorical or myſtical ſignification is this, That ſuch as in the Church receive the Sacrament devoutly, ſhall have their underſtandings open'd to know the Lord Chriſt more perfectly. But I can demonſtrate to the Doctors of your Church, from their own Principles, That our Bleſſed Savior did not give the Sacrament to his two Diſciples at *Emaus*, becauſe he did not pronounce thoſe words which make the Sacrament, and change the Bread into his Body, *viz. This is my Body*, which you maintain to be the eſſential words of Conſecration. The others, of bleſſing and breaking Bread, and giving to them, being but circumſtances in compariſon. Again, he did not conſecrate in both kinds, which your Doctors alſo account neceſſary to the Sacrament, That the Prieſt ſhould conſecrate Bread and Wine, and receive them.

Phil. A negative Argument out of Scripture holds not good, becauſe it is not expreſſ'd in the Relation that our Savior ſaid, *This is my Body*, and that our Savior did conſecrate the Cup, as well as bleſs the Bread, Becauſe theſe things are not expreſſ'd, you cannot therefore conclude they were not don.

Theoph. Now I have brought you where I deſired: you ſay a negative Argument out of Scripture is not of force. If I ſhould grant it was the Sacrament which our Savior gave to the Diſciples at *Emaus*, How would you prove they receiv'd it only in one kind, the Bread which he gave them? How will you prove he did not bleſs and give the Cup to them? Only by your negative Argument, becauſe the Holy Scriptures ſpeak nothing of it: which way ſoever you turn the wind, this Knot will hold you faſt. By this way which you have firſt ſhew'd, we anſwer

[a] *L. 3. de conſ. Evangeliſt. c. 15. Facta eſt permiſſio uſque ad Sacramentum panis, ut unitate corp. ejus participatâ removeri intellig. impedimentum inimici, ut Chriſtus poſſit agnoſci.*

ſeveral

ſeveral Arguments of your Doctors out of Scripture; and in many places of Scripture, ſay they, the Sacrament is deſcrib'd by this character of breaking Bread; as in this paſſage of St *Luke*, and ſome others in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Now from this denomination they would infer, that they receiv'd the Sacrament in one kind. We ſay no, but that one part is put for the whole, by the Figure *Synecdoche*, breaking of Bread is expreſs'd, and drinking of the Cup is implied and underſtood.

Phil. By ſuch Figures, when it ſhall ſerve your turn, you may make a ſtrange ſupplement to the Holy Scriptures; if they do not expreſs what you would have them, it ſhall be underſtood however.

Theoph. You ſhew'd the way. Neither had I enter'd upon this digreſſion, but that you excepted againſt a negative Argument out of Scripture, when I did prove that Chriſt gave not the Sacrament unto the two Diſciples, becauſe he did not ſay, *This is my Body*, and did not bleſs the Cup; both which, your Doctors account neceſſary to the Sacrament. Your anſwer was, That we muſt not conclude theſe things were omitted by our Savior, altho they are not recorded by the Evangeliſt: but whatever you think of it, we are ſure many of your own Doctors are of our Opinion, That breaking of Bread, &c. at *Emaus*, was no Sacramental action, but bleſſing and giving common Bread at that Meat to the Diſciples. So *Lyra* upon the place, [a] *He bleſs'd the Meat before they eat, as he uſually did before he ſuffered.* Dionyſius Carthuſianus, [b] *He took Bread, and bleſſed it, and gave to them; but he did not change it into his Body, as in the Lords Supper, but after the cuſtom of bleſſing the Meat: inſtructing us before Meals to ſay Grace.* So [c] *Janſenius Concord.* c. 146. *He bleſſed the Bread after his uſual manner.* And afterwards he tells us, *That ſome were of the opinion, that our Savior, under the Species of Bread, did give unto them his Body*; [d] but *that Opinion is not certain, nor very probable.*

Phil. We are not concern'd in the Opinion of ſome Doctors; St *Auguſtin*'s Teſtimony will out-weigh them all.

Theoph. You have heard, That St *Auguſtin* came not home to your purpoſe; he ſpeaks myſtically, and by his ſide you would walk in a miſt. But I proceed to ſhew the practice of the Church in the Apoſtles time. It is manifeſt, That the Saints at *Corinth* received in both kinds, according to St *Pauls* direction, 1 *Cor.* 11. 23. He firſt declares, Chriſts Inſtitution of the Sacrament in both kinds; and adds, his command even for the Cup (which you obſerv'd was not in St *Lukes* relation) *Do this as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.* St *Paul* after gives a general Rule for all Chriſtians, *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of the Bread and drink of the Cup*, ver. 28. And afterwards declares the danger of unworthy receiving, *But he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh*

[a] *Sicut conſueverat ante paſſionem.*
[b] *Accepit panem & benedixit, non autem in corpus conv. ſicut in cœnâ, &c.*
[c] *Pro more ſibi familiari, &c.*
[d] *Ea ſent. non eſt certa, nec multum verisimilis.*

damnation

damnation to himself, ver. 29. You see there is no evasion, he speaks to all the Saints, and enjoins eating and drinking together. And who are you, that you should separate them?

Phil. [d] *Bellarmin* doth acknowledg, that the Church of *Corinth* did receive the Sacrament in both kinds, because *Paul*, either from Christs Example, or for some other Reasons, had declared it lawful for them so to do, but he never taught them it was necessary. Neither did he urge the Precept of Christ, which you so much insist upon, *Drink you all of this.*

Theoph. But he added another Precept to the Cup, which St *Luke* omitted, *This do as often as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.* But you are put to this pitiful shift, when we prove the practice of the Apostles, and of the primitive Times, to give the Cup in the Sacrament to the People, to answer, That it is lawful and may be allowed, but it is not necessary to give the Cup: whereas our Lord Christ his Example in the first Institution of the Sacrament, delivering it in both kinds, his command, *Drink ye all of this*, St *Pauls* relation of another Precept, *This do, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me*, And the signification of Christs death in the Sacrament, whereunto you confess both kinds are necessary to be receiv'd asunder, all these do imply a necessity and command in the judgment of all who are not blinded with prejudice and interest. However, my business at present is to shew the practice of the Church in the Apostles time, to receive the Sacrament in both kinds; and *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth it so in the Church of *Corinth*, and Cardinal *Tolet* in other Churches. [a] *It was the antient custom in the Apostles daies, in the Church, to take the Communion in both kinds.* And he adds, in this Assertion there is no Controversie, and his Proofs for it are many.

Phil. But *Tolet*'s [b] second Assertion comes home to our purpose. *It was no less antient custom of the Church to communicate under one kind, even in the Apostles time; sometimes under one, and sometimes under both*, and his proofs you will find very considerable.

Theoph. We value not his confident Assertion, wherein he exceeds all his Fellows: But what are his Proofs?

Phil. He shews how our Savior himself gave the Sacrament in one kind, unto the two Disciples at *Emaus*.

Theoph. A baffled proof, as I believe your self will acknowledg, seeing many of your own party have done so.

Phil. But his second Argument is very considerable out of the Acts of the Apostles, *cap.* 2. *ver.* 42. *They continued stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayer.* Here saith

[d] *Lib.* 4. *de Eucha. c.* 25. *Ecclesia Cor. utrobique utrâque specie.*

[a] *Annotationi* 27. *in* 6. *Johannis. Antiqua consuetudo tempore apostolorum sub utraque specie, &c. in hac assertione nulla controversia.*

[b] *Non minus antiqua Ecclesiæ consuetudo sub una sola specie, modo sub una, modo sub utraque.*

he, *by breaking of Bread is meant receiving the Sacrament,* [a] *every one that hath reason must acknowledg it;* [b] *otherwise, had it bin common bread and refection, it would not have bin put between the Apostles Doctrine and Prayer.*

Theoph. Altho I do not fear the Cardinals censure, if I should deny it, neither can he or any other make it more then probable, that in that place by breaking of Bread is understood a Sacramental Action; yet because it is probable both in this Text, and in the 20th Chapter of the *Acts, ver.* 7. *Upon the first day of the week, when the Disciples came together to break Bread,* Paul *preached.* Therefore some of our Divines do allow your Interpretation: yet your Doctors conclusion will not hold, That they received the Sacrament only in one kind, altho the Bread only is express'd, for here a part is put for the whole action of Communicating: for mark you, breaking of Bread was the Apostles or Priests act, to distribute it to the People: and many other actions must concur to make up the Sacrament, as Blessing, and Consecrating, and the like; and you find these are not express'd, but implied: and so also must consecrating the Cup be implied also; for otherwise, if the Apostles did Consecrate the Bread and not the Cup, the Sacrament was null by the acknowledgment of your own Doctors. They conclude, the Consecration of both kinds necessary, insomuch that [c] *Aquinas* holds, *If one part of the Sacrament cannot be procur'd (suppose it Wine) the other part ought not to be Consecrated.* And he gives the reason, *Because the Sacrament would be imperfect.* And [d] *Vasquez* holds it necessary, *jure divino,* so that by the Popes Dispensation the Sacrament cannot be consecrated in one kind, both in respect of the Sacrifice and the Sacrament. We conclude therefore, that the Apostles, who did break Bread in these Texts to the People, did before Bless and Consecrate it, and after Consecrate the Cup; and you cannot say they did not, altho these things are not express'd.

Phil. I grant all this: But how will you prove they gave the Cup to the People.

Theoph. It is your part to shew they did not, otherwise you do not make good that the Sacrament was given only in one kind: Now all your proof is, because the Cup is not express'd, as the breaking of Bread is. And you know, that it is a weak negative Argument, and if allow'd, it would over-throw your first Postulatum, that by breaking of Bread is understood the Sacrament; seeing many necessary actions to complete a Sacrament, as you have heard, are not express'd but only implied: altho it is not express'd, yet you take it for granted, That when the Bread was broken, it was bless'd and distributed, and that the Cup likewise

[a] *Nemo ratione utens negare potest, panem hoc loco esse Eucharistiam, &c.*

[b] *Si cibus esset communis non jungeretur medio loco eum doctrina & oratione.*

[c] *Part.* 3. *q.* 74. *art.* 1. *ad* 2. *Nec propter defectum alterius est unum sine altero consecrandum.*

[d] *Distinct.* 123. *c.* 30. *Necessarium jure divino est in disp. Pontif. &c.*

Was

was consecrated: And why will you not give me leave to take it likewise for granted, that the Cup was given to them, altho it be not expressed? Doth the Expression of breaking the Bread exclude giving the Cup?

Phil. Nor but being expressed, and the other not, we may suppose the one without the other.

Theoph. What you may suppose I know not; but this I am sure, neither the Cardinal nor you can prove any thing against us out of these Texts. And before I leave this passage, I cannot but observe a contradiction of your practice unto this Expression of breaking of Bread, which you make very much of, as the denomination of the whole Sacramental Action (and in some places we do not gain-say it) and yet when you administer the Sacrament, you do not break Bread; you omit that significant Action which is express'd in our Blessed Saviors Institution, and you give unto the People Wafers whole and single, which cannot represent Christs Body bruis'd and broken, or the Peoples Communion of the same Loaf, which S. *Paul* insists upon, 1 Cor. 10. 17. *We being many, are one Bread and one Body, for we all are partakers of that one Bread.* If you had not studied to go against Christs Institution, you could not have omitted breaking of Bread, and giving the Cup unto the People in the Sacrament.

Phil. You have an Art to amplifie and aggravate, and to lay heavy things to our charge.

Theoph. I am solicitous for your sake, that you may recover out of the snare, and be timely sensible of your Error. *Valet* hath other Arguments as weak as Water, to make good his impudent Assertion, That in the Apostolic and Primitive Times, the Church administred the Sacrament indifferently either in one or both kinds, as she thought fit. That I shall meet with them in due place. For I now proceed, as I propos'd, to shew the practice of the Church for many Ages, both from the testimony of the Fathers, and the Learn'd in every Age; and from the acknowledgment of your own Doctors, to give the Communion in both kinds unto the People, according to the Institution of Christ, and the Tradition of the Apostles.

Phil. You love to take that for granted, which is the Question: whether Christs Institution and Apostolical Tradition be on your side? For altho our Savior gave the Sacrament in both kinds to the Apostles, it doth not appear he appointed them to administer it so unto the People, as a rule unto succeeding Generations.

Theoph. The practice of the Church will best interpret the commands of Christ, and duty of Christians: If the Church Catholic for 1200 Years gave the Communion in both kinds, thereby they declare the mind of Christ, and our obligation to follow them.

Phil. We reverence the Autority of the Church, and desire nothing more then your submission thereunto.

Theoph. I speak of Church Practice, and you divert unto Church Autority: As tho the Holy Fathers, who gave the Sacrament in both kinds

unto their Congregations, did therein follow the Canons of the Church, and not rather the Institution and Command of Christ.

Phil. The Essential parts of the Sacrament we refer to Christ and his Institution, but do believe the Church always had power to appoint and alter Circumstances.

Theoph. Where Christ hath left them undetermin'd. But more over, we account the Elements of Bread and Wine, to be material and substantial parts of the Sacrament, Instituted by Christ, and therefore not to be accounted Circumstances, and left to the determination of the Church. But I perceive, while you contend so much for the Autority of the Church, you are not willing in this point to hear the constant Testimony of the Church.

Phil. Not so; but we most cordially embrace it, knowing that we derive full confirmation of our practice in one kind (whatsoever you think of it) from the usage and testimony of the Primitive Times.

Theoph. I will first shew you what they say for us, and then do you produce your Evidences for your selves. In the first Century, we read divers Liturgies ascribed to some of the Apostles and Evangelists. The Liturgy of St *James*, of St *Peter*, of St *Mark*; in them we find the Priests and Deacons, and all the People, give Thanks to God and the Lord Jesus Christ,[a] *That he hath vouchsafed unto them, the favor to partake of his Body and Blood.* We read, they speak of the Mysteries altogether in the plural, *Partaking of the pure Celestial life-giving and dreadful Mysteries.* We read, how the Deacons after Consecration take the Patin and the Chalice, *To distribute the Bread and Wine unto the People.*

Phil. You account those Liturgies spurious, and not made by the Apostles; and you take them for proofs against us.

Theoph. 'Tis truth, we cannot believe they were compil'd by the Apostles, for then it would have bin presumption for after Ages not to conform to them, but unto Liturgies of their own framing. Your *Ordo Romanus* should have been exactly conform unto *Peters* Liturgy. However, they were set forth not many Ages after, and pretend to the Apostolical Times and Practice; and where they agree, give some light to Posterity of their Customs; and against you their Testimony holds good, because you account them Legitimate.

Phil. It is sport for Children to fight with wooden Daggers.

Theoph. They are enough to foil your pretentions unto Antiquity. But this is but fencing about, I will close with you instantly, and produce unquestionable Testimonies of the Sacrament given unto the People in both kinds. *Ignatius*, St *Johns* Disciple, in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, tells us, *It is one and the same Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the same Blood which was shed for us. One Bread broken for us, and one*

[a] Ἐυχαριστῆσαι σοι χρὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ... Μετασχεῖν ὑμᾶς ἁγίων ... Cup

Cup distributed to the whole Congregation. [a] *Justin Martyr*, in the next Century, giving account of the Rites of their Christian Service and Communion, he tells the Heathen Emperors, to whom he makes his Apology for Christians, *The President of the Assembly, or Priest, giving thanks, and all the People congratulating; they who are called Deacons, give to every one present to partake of the Bread and Wine, with Water bless'd; and carry those Elements abroad to such as are not present. And this nurishment is call'd the Eucharist.* In the end of the same Century, [b] *Tertullian* exhorting his Wife after his death, if at all, only to marry in the Lord, *i. e.* a Christian, *Otherwise*, saith he, *how will thy Husband, if a Heathen, suffer thee to go to that Feast which is so much defam'd, to take the Bread and the Cup. And afterwards,* [c] *Of whose hand wilt thou receive the Bread, of whose Cup wilt thou drink.* Now *Pamelius* and *de la Cerda*, in their Notes upon *Tertullian*, acknowledg both these places to be spoken of the Eucharist; and both kinds are expresly mention'd and receiv'd. [d] *Cyprian* follows his Master *Tertullian*, and hath many passages to our purpose. He gives an account of a strange accident, whereof he was an Eye-witness, *That a yong Maid being at the Sacrament, when the Deacon brought the Cup to her, she turn'd away her face, shutting her mouth, and refusing to drink:* [e] *but the Deacon forced her to take down some of the Wine, and presently she vomited.* The Holy Eucharist could not stay in her Mouth and Stomach which was defiled. For we read before, *That when she was an Infant, the Heathen took her from her Mother, and by force put into her mouth* [f] *Bread mingled with Wine, taken from the Idol Sacrifice.* And because of this Pollution, thro a Divine dispensation in these severe Times, followed that abhorrency of the Sacrament. Now here is mention made of the Sacramental Cup, but not of Bread, delivered to the Damsel, tho unwilling. And from this, and such like places, we may as well prove they administred the Cup without the Bread, as they from other places conclude the Bread was given without the Cup. Another notable Passage we have [g] in his Epistle to *Cornelius* the Pope, his Brother in the Lord: He writes his mind to him, *That in those difficult times of Persecution, it was expedient to reconcile Penitents lapst, the sooner to Church Communion, and with more Indulgence: That by the Blood of Christ receiv'd in the Sacrament; they may be fortified against assaults, and be encouraged to shed their Blood for the Testimony of the Gospel.* And immediatly after he saith, [h] *How*

[a] *Apol 2. prope finem.* Ἐυχαριστήσαντος τοῦ προεστῶτος, *&c.*

[b] 2do *Lib. ad Uxorem, c. 4. De cibo & poculo invadere, &c.*

[c] *Libro de lapsis. De cujus manu desiderabis; de cujus poculo particip.*

[d] *Præsente ac teste meipso.*

[e] *Reluctanti licet de Sacramento Calicis infudit. Sequitur singultu & vomitus, &c.*

[f] *Panem mero mixtum de immolatione perceptum.*

[g] *Epistola 54. Cornelio papæ fratri, quos hortamur ad prælium non inermes, &c.*

[h] *Quo modo provocamus eos in confess. nominis sang. suum effundere, &c.*

shall

ſhall we exhort them to ſhed their Blood in the Confeſſion of his Name, if we deny them to partake of his Blood. He adds immediatly after, [a] *How ſhall we fit them to drink the Cup of Martyrdom, if we do not before admit them to take the Cup of the Lord in the Church, by right of Communication.* Obſerve the right of Communicating.

Phil. [b] *Bellarmin* ſhews, how this Epiſtle of *Cyprian*, is a full confutation of your Opinion, *That the Church cannot with-hold part of the Sacrament from the People, ſeeing ſhe hath power to exclude from the whole Sacrament.* For *Cyprian* writes to *Cornelius*, for ſome Indulgence for thoſe who were excluded.

Theoph. Do you believe his firſt Poſition, That the Peoples right to the Sacrament, is given by the Prieſt to them, and by him may be taken from them?

Phil. Yes, when they are Criminals, it may be with-held from them by the power of the Prieſt; and upon their repentance, again be reſtored.

Theoph. So it is with the offending Clergy, as well as with the People: upon ſome great offence, they may be ſuſpended from the Sacrament; and therefore why doth he ſay, the right of the People to the Sacrament, &c. and your anſwer ſuppoſeth an offence, whereupon the right may be taken away. But *Bellarmin* ſpeaks abſolutly, *Jus Laicorum*, &c. The right the People have to the Sacrament, is from the Prieſts conceſſion, I thought it had bin from Chriſts Inſtitution and command. And *Bellarmins* Inference is inſufferable, that as the Church and the Biſhops have power to keep Offenders from the Sacrament altogether, ſo can they diſpoſe of, and give the Sacrament under one kind, or both, as they think fit: And the abſurdity appears herein, Chriſt hath given power to his Church to Excommunicate Offenders, but not to alter his Inſtitution of the Sacrament. If we had not found it written, we could not believe a Man of Learning ſhould make ſuch Inferences, abſurd and irreligious.

Phil. If you like not this Anſwer, you may his ſecond Thoughts [c] *That if in* Cyprians *time the People had a right to demand the Cup, they had it certainly from the cuſtom of that time: and therefore ſeeing now another Cuſtom is introduc'd, and a Law made for the Sacrament in one kind, they have no claim or right to the other.*

Theoph. 'Tis horrible inſolence in *Bellarmin* to aſſert, That if the People had a right to claim the Cup, certainly they deriv'd it from Cuſtom, and to take no notice at all of Chriſts Inſtitution, and the Apoſtles Tradition and Practice. And that he ſhould preſume to ballance the cuſtom of ſo many former Ages of the Church, with a cuſtom not many Ages introduc'd; and withal, not to allow one grain unto all we read of both kinds in the Holy Scripture, to turn the Scale: And why doth

[a] *Quomodo ad Martyrii poculum idoneos facimus, ſi non eos prius ad bib. in Eccleſia pocul Domini jure communicationis admittimus.*

[b] *Lib. 4. de Euch. c. 26. Jus Laicor. ad communicandum à Sacerdot. &c.*

[c] *Ib. Habuiſſent certe ex conſuet. illius temp. ergo cum ſit contr. conſuet. introductâ non habent amplius jus illud.*

he

he take ſo great pains to anſwer the Teſtimonies which we bring out of the Fathers, for the giving of the Sacrament in both kinds, ſeeing he might cut all off with this ſtupendious Solution? It was the cuſtom of ſo many Ages to receive the Communion in both kinds; it is our cuſtom to receive the Communion in one kind. But notwithſtanding this compendious anſwer of your Doctor, I will go on to prove the practice of the Church to give the Cup, and then I will make the Inference. [a] *Origen* gives a full Teſtimony on our ſide, *I will ſhew you who are the People who are accuſtomed to drink Blood, not only in the Sacrament, but in hearing the word of God.*

Phil. [b] *Bellarmines* anſwer to this Teſtimony, is ſhort and full. *They are accuſtomed, but not commanded.*

Theoph. [c] *Cyprian* ſhews the Precept as well as the uſe: *The Law*, ſaith he, *forbids to eat with the Blood; but the Goſpel commands that we ſhould drink it.*

Phil. [d] *Bellarmin* anſwers, The Goſpel commands that the Blood of Chriſt ſhould be drank, but not by all.

Theoph. Chriſts words are, *Drink ye all of this.* And [e] *Auguſtin* ſaith, *All are exhorted to drink this Blood who will have life.* In the fourth Century, the Fathers of the Greek and Latin Church are all for us. [f] *Baſil* the Great, writing to a great Lady, tells her, *It is good to Communicate every day, and to partake of the holy Body and Blood.* [g] Again elſewhere he puts the Queſt: *What is proper for a Chriſtian?* And he gives the Anſwer, *To cleanſe himſelf from all filthineſs of Fleſh and Spirit, and perfect Holineſs in the fear of the Lord, and ſo to eat the Body of Chriſt, and drink his Blood.* [h] *Greg. Nazianzen* gives advice, *Without doubting, eat the Body, and drink the Blood, if thou deſireſt Life.* [i] *Chryſoſtom* hath a memorable Paſſage to our purpoſe, *I can ſhew you*, ſaith he, *where the Prieſt differs not from the People, when we enjoy the dreadful Myſteries; for we are all alike vouchſafed them: One Body and one Cup, propoſed to all.*

Phil. [k] *Bellarmin* ſhews, how *Chryſoſtom* underſtands the thing that is Communicated, and not the Signs: and ſo all receive whole Chriſt, altho under the Species of Bread.

Theoph. Seeing there is expreſs mention made of one Cup offered to all, you cannot underſtand thereby, receiving Chriſts Blood only by

[a] *Hom. 6. in Numeros. dicam vobis quis ſit Pop. qui in uſu habet ſang. bibere, non ſolum Sacr. ritu, &c.*

[b] *Ib. In uſu habet non præcepto.*

[c] *De Cœna Domini. Lex prohibet ejus ſang. Evangelium præcipit ut bibatur.*

[d] *Præcipit ut bibatur, at non ab omnibus.*

[e] *Qu. 17. in Levit. ad bibendum ſang. omnes exhortantur qui volunt habere vitam.*

[f] *Epiſt. 289. ad Patriciam Cæſariam.* Τὸ κοινωνεῖν καθ' ἑκάστην, *&c.*

[g] *Regula* 80. *c.* 28. Τί ἴδιον χριστιανῶ, *&c.*

[h] *Oratione* 42. Ἀναβιβάσωμεν φόβῳ τὸ σῶμα, *&c.*

[i] *Homil.* 18. *in* 2. *ad Corinth.* Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν δείξω, *&c.*

[k] *Ib. Rem Sacramentis &c.*

con-

concomitancy with the Body of Chriſt, under the Species of Bread. And whereas *Bellarmin* ſaith, Both the Prieſt and People did eat of the ſame Sacrifice under the Law; and therefore the difference between us under the Goſpel, and them, could not herein conſiſt. That as well the People, as the Prieſt, equally ſhare in the Sacrament. I anſwer, that in the Peace-offering, he that brought it had his part, as the Prieſt this; but they were different heterogenial parts, the wave-breaſt and heave-ſhoulder were the Prieſts ſhare, *Lev.* 7. 34. whereof he that brought the Offering did not eat. And ſo the Shew-bread belong'd to the Prieſt to eat, and not to the People. Now at the Lords Table there is a clear parity between Prieſt and People, alike partaking of homogenial things, eating the ſame Bread, and drinking the ſame Cup. And this was *Chryſoſtoms* deſign to ſhew, in theſe words, [a] *Not as under the Law the Prieſt eat ſome things, and the People other; and it was not lawful for the People to partake of thoſe things which were aſſign'd to the Prieſt.*

Phil. [b] *Bellarmin* ſhews plainly the cuſtom in *Chryſoſtoms* time to receive in one kind, by a miraculous Inſtance related out of *Sozomens* Hiſtory, *Lib.* 8. *Of an heretical Woman, who would diſſemble Catholic Communion, and received the Bread in* Chryſoſtoms *Church, but kept it by her and eat common Bread, which her Maid brought with her; and it became a ſtone in her mouth.* Now ſaith *Bellarmin*, *If ſhe muſt alſo have receiv'd the Cup, How could her firſt juggling about the Bread conceale her?*

Theoph. Such Legends as theſe prove little. If truth, ſhe might think in the throng to eſcape the Cup; or elſe ſet her lips to the Cup, and drink nothing: and ſo *Bellarmins manifeſte patet*, is *manifeſte latet*; in a ſinking Cauſe, he laieth hold of every Reed to ſupport it. Other Teſtimonies we have out of *Chryſoſtom*, [c] comparing the Jews Sacraments and Myſteries with ours, he ſaith. *As thou eateſt the Lords Body, ſo did the Jews eat Manna: as thou drinkeſt the Blood of Chriſt, ſo they water out of the Rock.* Another out of the 32d Homily upon St *Matthew*, near the end, exciting to love, he ſaith, *We have all one Table ſpread before us, we all drink of the ſame Liquor; and not only ſo, but out of the ſame Cup.* Ambroſe ſaith, [d] *If as often as Chriſts Blood is poured out in the Sacrament, it is ſhed for remiſſion of ſins: I muſt alwaies receive it, that my ſins may be alwaies forgiven.* He ſeems to imply, that if we ſtand in need of remiſſion of ſins, we muſt take the Cup of Salvation. [e] Again, ſpeaking myſtically of the Prieſts of the Goſpel, he ſaith, *The Prieſt, by the word of God, toucheth the rock, and the waters flow, and the Lords people drink*

[a] *Ib.* Οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν, &c.
[b] *Ib. Manifeſte patet*, &c.
[c] *Hom.* 23. *in* 1 *ad Cor.* Καθάπερ σὺ ἐσθίεις τὸ σῶμα, &c.
[d] Μία τοίνυν θυσία πεφυκεν πάντη, &c.
[e] *De Sacramentis, l.* 4. *c.* 6. *Debeo illum ſemper accipere, ut ſemper mihi pecc. dimittantur.*
[f] *Ib. l* 5. *c.* 1. *Verbo Dei tangit petram & fluit aqua, & bibit populus Dei.*

thereof

thereof. [a] Again, his Speech to *Theodosius* the Emperor, when he came to receive the Sacrament after that great slaughter of many thousands, committed by his command at *Thessalonica*, proves our Point, *With what confidence canst thou receive with thy mouth the Cup of Christs pretious Blood, with such blood-guiltiness, &c.*

Phil. [b] *Bellarmin* answers to these Testimonies of the Fathers, *That in some places the Sacrament was administred to the People in both kinds, but not by any Divine right.*

Theoph. 'Tis enough for us at present to prove the practice of the Church, and that he confesseth. [c] *Jerome* saith, *The Priests consecrate the Eucharist, and distribute the Blood of Christ unto the People.* And to this *Bellarmin* confidently answers, *Nihil novi.* This is no news: It is in truth no news, to hear the Fathers witnessing, that the Cup was given to the People: Where do they say, the Bread was given without the Cup?

Phil. You shall find we have sufficient proofs of that out of Antiquity.

Theoph. Such manifest Proofs as *Bellarmin* brought but now: Legends, and reservations, and half proofs, but I will suspend my judgment till you offer them, and I go on to shew the Testimonies of every Age in this Point, altho I may weary your patience and mine own. [d] *Gratian* hath collected several Passages out of St *Augustin*, and the Sentences of *Prosper*, *While the Host is broken, and the Blood is poured out of the Cup into the mouths of the Faithful.* Again, *Ye are together with us at the Table, and in the Cup; we drink together, because we live together.* This evidently shews both kinds distinctly and apart, distributed to all the Communicants, the Priest and People eating and drinking together at the Lords Table, as all were partakers of the same Spiritual Life. In the fifth Century, we have a full proof before the fourth General Council, of the Communion given in both kinds. *Samuel*, and other Priests, put in Articles into the Council of *Calcedon*, against *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*: the 9th Article was this, *That upon complaint he had neglected to punish some Officers,* [e] *who upon a great Festival had provided but little Wine, and that not good, for the Sacrament to be distributed unto the People; so that at the time of administring the Cup, they were constrain'd to send for more to the Tavern: and when that sufficed not, the Bishop gave a nod to those that administred the Bread, to come up to the Altar, and forbear giving the Body of*

[a] *Theodoreti hist. lib. 5. c. 18. Quâ audaciâ poculum sang. pretiosi ore tuo particip abis? &c.*

[b] *Lib. 4. c. 26. Fatemur datam utramque speciem in aliq. locis; sed non Jure Divino.*

[c] *In Malach. c. 2. Sacerdotes Eucb. conficiunt, & sang. Domini populo distrib.*

[d] *Decret. part. 2. causa 33. q. 3. c. 37. Dum frangitur hostia, dum sang. de calice in ora fidelium funditur. Ib. c. 36. Ibi vos estis in mensa, &c.*

[e] *Bin. Tom. 3. Concil. part. 2. Conc. Chalced. Actione 10. Ουκ ἐδίδου σπουδὴν μεταδόναι, &c.*

Chriſt, becauſe there was not Wine enough to come after. This ample Teſtimony, proves the Cup was of neceſſity given to the People, and that the Bread could not be given without the Cup: for they who delivered the Bread, were commanded to ceaſe, becauſe for want of Wine others could not follow them with the Cup. And this the whole Council approv'd, admitting the Charge againſt the Biſhop; never anſwering, *more Romano*, That the People might receive the Body without the Cup. This agrees well with that ſaying aſcrib'd to St *Auguſtin*, [a] by *Algerus* a *Benedictine* Monk, *Neither can the Fleſh be of right diſtributed without the Blood, nor the Blood without the Fleſh.*

Phil. [b] *Bellarmin* ſaith, It is not the ſaying of *Auguſtin*, but of *Paſchaſius.*

Theoph. We will not diſpute that: But what ſaith he to the words themſelves? For *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth the Teſtimony of either to be good.

Phil. He ſaith, They ſpeak not of the ſigns, but of the thing ſignified, The Body and Blood of Chriſt, and they are alwaies communicated together by a concomitancy.

Theoph. This is the uſual ſhift, but it helps him nothing: For in this ſenſe, one cannot be given without the other: But the words ſay, [c] One without the other cannot of right be communicated, implying, that injuriouſly it might be.

Phil. *Bellarmin* applies thoſe words (*non jure communicatur*) to the Perſons receiving, not to the things received. [d] They ought not of right to communicate, who think they can receive the Body of Chriſt without his Blood.

Theoph. This is an Application at random, againſt the ſcope and the expreſs conſtruction of the words, but you ſhall never find him without an Anſwer; ſomthing he will ſay to amuſe the People. But I proceed: About this time Pope *Leo* the firſt makes a Decree, *That ſome Manichees ſhould be obſerved ſtrictly, who diſſembling Church-Communion with Catholics, would come to the Sacrament, and receive the Bread but not the Wine; becauſe they eſteemed Wine a Creature of the Devil.* [e] Now by this mark, he would have them diſcovered, if they refuſed to receive the Cup, and ſo caſt out of the Church. Not long after, [f] Pope *Gelaſius* ſeconds the Decree: *We have heard*, ſaith he, *That ſome receiving the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, forbear the Cup, I know not upon what ſuperſtitious ground; but let thoſe either take the Sacrament intirely*, i.e. *in both kinds, or let*

[a] *Algerus l. 2. c. 8. De Sacramento, nec caro ſine ſang. nec ſang. ſine carne jure communicatur.*

[b] *Lib. 4. c. 26. Ea ſent. non eſt Aug. at Paſchaſii.*

[c] *Non jure communicatur.*

[d] *Non jure commun. qui ſentit unum accipi ſine altero.*

[e] *Ut vobis hujuſmodi homines ex his manifeſtentur indicio.*

[f] *Dist. Tom. 3. In not. ad vitam Gelaſii. Aut Sacramentis integris participant, aut ab integris arceantur, &c. Diviſio unimus & ejuſdem myſt. &c.*

them

them be excluded altogether. And he gives a reaſon moſt obſervable, *The diviſion of one and the ſame Sacrament, cannot be without grand Sacrilege.*

Phil. Bellarmin ſhews out of *Gratian*, That this Order was made only for the Prieſts, who are oblig'd to receive in both kinds.

Theoph. He might with more reaſon ſay, It was made for the Turks, who with the Manichees, abhor Wine: Can it be ſuppoſed, That Manichees could be Prieſts of the Catholic Church, and ſo be commanded to communicate in both kinds? no, it was made for their diſcoveries, when they thruſt in among the People, and would appear as Catholics?

Phil. It appears by this Paſſage, that the Church then gave the Sacrament without the Cup, otherwiſe how could the Manichees hope to counterfeit Church Communion, becauſe refuſing the Cup muſt needs betray them.

Theoph. By this we prove the contrary: For how could they be diſcovered by refuſing the Cup, if it were not given to the People?

Phil. Thoſe two Popes decree, the Cup ſhould be given at that time on purpoſe to diſcover theſe Heretics.

Theoph. No ſuch thing: The Decrees were made for ſtricter prohibition and obſervation; perhaps ſome negligent Prieſts before might let them paſs without the Cup, or they might take down none of the Wine when the Cup was brought to them, only put it to their Lips, or the like: But how do you anſwer Pope *Gelaſius* his reaſon of the Decree, and free your ſelves from grand Sacrilege? One and the ſame Sacrament cannot be divided without grand Sacrilege.

Phil. I muſt confeſs, in that place *Bellarmin* takes not any notice of that conſiderable paſſage of the Decree.

Theoph. Becauſe it was unanſwerable. This is the firſt time I have found him ſilent, and ſo I may the better proceed without interruption. In the Year 589. in the third Council of *Toledo*, we read how the pious King *Reccaerdus*, held a Council of all the Biſhops of *Spain* and *Gallicia*, when *Pelagius* the ſecond was Pope, principally that the *Goths* in his Dominions might abjure the *Arrian* Hereſie: Among other things, the King gives direction to the Biſhops, That after the Oriental Cuſtom, all the People ſhould reherſe the Articles of their Belief, [a] *That ſo their hearts purified by Faith, might receive the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*

Phil. If they received in one kind, they received the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

Theoph. Alas, your Doctrine of concomitancy was never heard or thought of, in thoſe Pious Times. In the next Council of *Toledo*, *Anno* 633. when *Honorius* was Pope, *Siſimundus* being King, it is ordered in the 18th Canon, [b] *That after the Lords Prayer, and the Bread and Cup join'd,*

[a] *Bin. Tom.* 4. *Pag.* 501. *Et ſic corda fide purif. ad Chriſti corp. & ſang. percip. exhibeant.*

[b] *Bin. p.* 587. *Conjunctio panis & Calicis.*

a blessing shall be pronounc'd upon the People, and then the Sacrament received by all in their several places: first, the Priest and Deacon at the Altar, the other Clergy in the Quire, the People without the Quire. You see therefore the Sacrament was given in both kinds to all the People, by the Decree of these Councils in all the Dominions of *Spain.* And because the Consecration of the Bread and Wine (as we may conceive) is call'd in the Canon, *Conjunctio panis & calicis*, The conjunction of the Bread and the Cup. I might observe from this Expression, they should not be separated. In the Year 736. [a] Pope *Gregory* the second, writing to *Leo Isaurus* the Emperor, who was called *Iconomachus*, for his zeal against Images; he shews the Emperor the Church discipline towards Offenders, such as had given scandal to the Church. *First, we prescribe Watching and Fasting; and when they are chastised with hunger and severe exercises, the Priests give unto them the venerable Body of our Lord, and make them to drink of his holy Blood.* This is a Testimony without Exception, because of a Pope: and it prevents the usual Answer of Concomitancy, for it mentions the Body and Blood given asunder, and it shews the practice of the Western Church. This also is manifest by the Roman Order of the Mass: there we read, [b] *When the Pope gives the Body, the Arch-deacon confirms*, i. e. *gives the Cup; and when the Bishops or Priests communicate, the Deacons follow and confirm.* And there is express mention made of the Sacrament [c] given to Princes and their Ladies, and to all the People. The same we find, and more in another Ritual, call'd *Ordo Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiæ Romanæ.* [d] *Haymo* Bishop of *Halberstate*, saies, *The Cup is call'd the Communication of his Blood, because all do partake of that one Cup.* [e] *Theophylact* Arch Bishop of *Balgaria*, saith, *This dreadful Cup is equally communicated to all.* [f] *Oecumenius*, upon the same Chapter, *The Lord exhibits equally to thee, and to the poor man, the Table and the Chalice of Christs pretious Body and Blood.* These in the 11th Century. In the next, *Algerus* a Monk, when *Berengarius* was question'd for his Opinion against the Real Presence, [g] and recanted. This Learned Monk wrote three Books of the Sacrament; and in the second Book, *cap.* 8. he shews, how the custom of communicating in both kinds, held in the Church from Christ, *That the Bread being macerated with the Teeth, might represent his Flesh torn in his Passion; and the Wine pour'd into the mouths of the Faithful, signifie his Blood-shedding, &c.* with many such passages in that Chapter; and so by good Autorities, out of the several Ages of Christianity, I have shew'd

[a] *Bin. Tom.* 5. *pag.* 511. *Epistola* 2. *ad Leonem.* Παραβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς, *&c.*

[b] *Vid. Cassandri Liturgica.*

[c] *Descendet pontifex & commun. principes, & matres familias eorum, &c.*

[d] *In Epistolam* 1 *ad Cor. c.* 10. *Calix dicitur Communicatio sang. quia omnes ex illo uno participant.*

[e] *In* 1 *Epist. ad Cor. c.* 11.

[f] Ἐπίσης σοὶ καὶ τῷ πένητι, *&c.*

[g] *Ut panis dum dentibus teritur carnem Christi in pass. attritam: & dum vinum in ora fidelium funditur, sang. de Christi latere fusum signaret.*

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the practice of the Church, to give the Communion in both kinds to the People.

Phil. Altho *Bellarmin* and other Doctors, except against some, and answer others of your Testimonies, yet I have not interrupted you in most, because those Answers unto some which I have brought already, will suit the rest.

Theoph. You have an excellent Art to make one Almanack serve for every Meridian under Heaven. You have one or two Catholic Distinctions to help at a dead lift. Concomitancy is a great Pillar of your Church, whereſoever the Holy Scripture, or Fathers, ſpeak of receiving Chriſts pretious Body and Blood, for remiſſion of Sins, and the nurithment of our Souls; you anſwer, In one kind whole Chriſt is received, and all his Benefits by a Concomitancy. If we go further, and prove the Elements were receiv'd diſtinctly by the People in the Apoſtles time, and for ſo many Ages after. You anſwer, *Uſu non præcepto*, they receiv'd it ſo by Cuſtom, and not by Precept.

Phil. Yes: And upon this account we are not troubled with all your proofs of both kinds adminiſtred to the People ſo many Ages of the Church, ſeeing afterwards that Cuſtom generally ceaſ'd in the Weſtern Church, and the contrary Cuſtom was introduc'd and confirm'd by three General Councils, *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, and *Trent*.

Theoph. 'Tis truth, in the 13th Century, giving the Cup unto the Laity began to grow out of uſe. [a] *Aquinas* moves the Queſtion, *Whether it be lawful to receive Chriſts Body without the Blood.* And concludes, *That in regard unto the Sacrament it ſelf, it was convenient, that both kinds ſhould be received, becauſe the perfection of the Sacrament conſiſts in both: but in regard unto the Receivers, reverence and caution was required; and that therefore in ſome Churches, it was well obſerv'd, not to give the Cup unto the People.* And yet before, the ſame *Aquinas* had determin'd, [b] *As to the effect of every Receiver, the Sacrament ſecures both Body and Soul; and therefore, the Body of Chriſt is offer'd for the ſalvation of the Body, and the Blood, under the Species of Wine for the Soul.*

Phil. He ſaith, 'tis offer'd, to wit, by the Prieſt, but not communicated to the People.

Theoph. Put the Propoſition together, it is this, Bread and Wine are the Materials of the Sacrament, requir'd in regard of the benefit and effect in every Communicate for the preſervation of his Body and Soul, by the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Well, *Aquinas* he ſtarts the Queſtion, *Whether it was lawful to receive in one kind?* and determins the Point very tenderly. But after this Angelical Doctor (as they call him) the School-men follow the Cry with full Mouth, *That there is no Precept to re-*

[a] *Part.* 3. *Quæſt.* 80. *Art.* 12. *Ex parte Sacramenti convenit, ut utrumque ſumatur, &c.*

[b] *Quæſt.* 74. *Art.* 1. *Quantum ad effect. in unoquoque ſumentium, Sacramentum hoc valet ad tuitionem, &c.*

ceive

ceive in both, and no prohibition to receive in one kind: That upon many Conſiderations, it is expedient to with-hold the Cup from the Laity: That the Church hath power to order things of this nature: and, That after the expreſs determination of the Church in ſome General Councils, it is even become neceſſary to with-hold the Cup, and an Hereſie to diſpute againſt it. Now to prepare the World for this new practice of receiving only in one kind, that ſo it might be entertain'd in ſome places, and get ground, and afford ſome plea of a Cuſtom in the Church, the School-men ſtarted ſome preliminary Queſtions, and concluded, *That whole Chriſt was received under each kind; and he that received only the Body of Chriſt, received likewiſe his Blood and Soul, and Divinity by a concomitancy.* 2dly, *That the whole intent of the Sacrament, as to the People, all the Eſſentials thereof, were communicated under the Species of Bread, with the Body of Chriſt.* 3dly, *That he who received in both kinds, had no advantage of thoſe who receiv'd only in one kind.* Altho we find this laſt Theſis not ſo generally admitted among themſelves, yet ſuch as oppoſe muſt not be peremtory, leaſt the People ſhould be ſenſible of ſome injury don them, in being depriv'd of that benefit which ſhould be exhibited more in both kinds, then in one.

Phil. By your own relation you give us opportunity to obſerve, how they proceeded upon good grounds, and in a rational way to make good their Theſis, and their practice of the Communion in one kind.

Theoph. It was neceſſary they ſhould ſay ſomthing to endere the People unto a compliance; deſigning to chear them of one half of the Sacrament, they would impoſe upon their credulity, and tell them, the other half which they receiv'd, was as beneficial as the whole.

Phil. You are not ignorant how they ſhew many good Cauſes and Conſiderations for their with-holding the Cup; and notwithſtanding your pretenſions and claim to the practice of the Church for ſo many Ages on your ſide, our Doctors ſhew it was always free to communicate in one kind or in both, and ſhew the early practice of the Church for this half Communion, as you call it; and I hope you will now give me leave to put in their Plea.

Theoph. Content: And if you can ballance thoſe Autorities which I have brought, I will yield the Cauſe.

Phil. I am glad to ſee in you ſome hopes of Moderation, and that you will be rul'd by Reaſon and Autority.

Theoph. Taking Chriſts Inſtitution, and the Holy Scripture along with us.

Phil. 'Tis ſuppoſ'd, there is no expreſs Precept of Chriſt, to determine the Church in all Ages to give the Communion in both kinds; and where the Church is left free, ſhe may uſe her liberty, and determin as occaſion ſerves.

Theoph. You beg the Queſtion: and we have urg'd Chriſts Inſtitution, and Example, in giving the Sacrament in both kinds, and his Com-

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mand to them to do likewiſe. We have urg'd the Traditions of St. *Paul*; the practice of the Apoſtolical Times.

Phil. You have urged, and we have anſwered, and let the impartial Reader judg between us; but beſides theſe Inſtances of the Sacrament in one kind out of the Holy Scripture, *Luke* 24. *Acts* 2. 42. and 20. 7. we have alſo Teſtimonies of the Primitive Church, which ſpeak on our ſide.

Theoph. We have prov'd our way abundantly by the practice of ſo many Ages, do you ſo yours; and then I will grant we are left free in this caſe, every one to do as ſeemeth good in his eyes.

Phil. Not ſo neither, when the Church hath reſtrain'd this liberty, and forbid the Cup.

Theoph. Whether your Church hath done better in the reſtraint, then the Church for ſo many Ages before in allowing that Chriſtian Liberty, which you pretend for, to receive in one or both kinds, let the World judg: but we deny any ſuch liberty taken by the Church, or allow'd by Chriſt to communicate in one or both kinds, as the Church ſhould pleaſe, and we deſire your proof.

Phil. Firſt, *Bellarmin* proves it lawful to communicate in one kind, becauſe the Church never condemn'd it.

Theoph. You ſhould prove that they allow'd it: But how ſhould they condemn that which was not practic'd? Could they divine a new Generation of Monks and Fryars ſhould ariſe, and perſwade the People by ſubtlety and craft to loſe their Spiritual Birth-right, half the Legacy of Chriſt, or rather the whole, in a maim'd and undue Adminiſtration? And moreover, you have heard when the Manichees, and other Heretics, would have brought up this cuſtom, two Popes, *Leo* and *Gelaſius*, were wroth, and determin'd poſitively againſt them.

Phil. I will not interrupt the Series of my Diſcourſe, by reflecting upon by-paſt Paſſages, but proceed to ſhew, how the Communion in one kind was in uſe in the Primitive Times, and not condemn'd; and ſo by conſequence allow'd. Many Cuſtoms of the Primitive Times, inſer, the Body of our Lord was delivered to the People without the Cup. In the days of Perſecution, when they could not aſſemble often to communicate in public Aſſemblies, it was uſual to carry with them part of the conſecrated Bread, wrapping it up in clean Linnen, and keeping it in their Houſes, until ſuch time as they thought fit to eat it. Of this Cuſtom [a] *Tertullian* gives a notable proof, writing to his Wife, *That if ſhe inclin'd to Marry after his death, ſhe ſhould be careful to Marry a Chriſtian, not an Heathen; otherwiſe, he will not know what thou eateſt in ſecret, before all refection; and if he know it to be Bread, he will not believe it to be that which we call it, viz. The Body of Chriſt.* [b] And in another place, *The*

[a] *Lib. 2. ad uxorem, c. 5. Non ſciet maritus quid ſecreto ante omnem cibum guſtes, & ſi ſciverit, non illum credet, qui dicitur.*

[b] *Lib. de Oratione, c. ult. Accepto corpore Domini, & reſervato.*

Body

Body of the Lord being receiv'd and reserv'd. So [a] *Cyprian*, in his Book *De Lapsis*, relates, *How a Woman endeavoring with wicked hands to open a Chest, wherein the Holy Body of our Lord was lock'd up, she was terrified with Fire issuing out of the Chest.* [b] And in his Book, *De Spectaculis*, he speaks of one with indignation, *Who made such haste to the Heathenish Plaies and Sights, that he carried about him the Holy Eucharist, amidst the throng of whorish and obscene Persons.* [c] *Ambrose*, shewing the Piety of his Brother *Satyrus*, tells us, *That being at Sea in a Storm, ready to suffer ship-wrack, he earnestly begg'd the Sacrament of one that was with him, and wrap'd it up in a linnen Cloth, and hang'd it about his neck; and being cast away, he was the first who escap'd alive to the shore.*

Theoph. What would you prove from these Passages.

Phil. That they carried, and kept by them the Body of the Lord, and when occasion serv'd, did eat it fasting at home; and in all these Passages no mention is made of the Cup, or of the Blood of Christ.

Theoph. But I can give several express instances of both kinds, which the Faithful carried from Church with them to their Houses. You have heard above, how [d] *Justin Martyr* told you, *The Deacons give the Sacrament of Bread and Wine, mingled with Water, to those who are present, and carry it unto such as were absent.* [e] So *Gregory Nazianzen* shews of his Sister *Gorgonia*, *If any where*, saith he, *her hand had tresured up any of the Antitypes of the Holy Body and Blood.* [f] And *Jerome* most distinctly, speaking of one *Exuperius*, saith, *No man can be richer then he, who carries the Body of our Lord in a wicker Basket, and the Blood in a Viol Glass.*

Phil. But in most Instances, mention is made only of Christs Body reserv'd; and [g] *Satyrus* in S[t] *Ambrose*, caused it to be wrapt up in a Linnen Cloth, and bound it about his Neck. *Orarium*, was a Linnen Cloth on purpose, wherein to wrap up the Sacrament, as *Vice Comes* shews, [h] *I hope you will not say he did wrap up Christs Blood in a Cloth.*

Theoph. Yes, he might wrap up the Holy Mysteries, the Bread, and the Wine put in a Vial-glass, together. And *Ambrose* his Expressions look towards the Wine of the Sacrament, when he saith, [i] *He received the Heavenly Mystery, swallowed up, as in a draught, in the secret Repository of his Heart, and diffus'd into his Bowels.*

[a] *Quædam arcam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit indign. manibus, aperire tentavit, & igne inde assurg. deterrita est.*

[b] *Qui festinas ad Spect. Eucharistiam inter obscœna corp. meretr. tulit.*

[c] *Lib. de Obitu frat. Satyri, c. 7. Ne vacuus mysterii, &c.*

[d] *Apol. 2. Prope finem.*

[e] *Oratione 11.* Εἰ πῦ τι τῶν ἀντιτυπῶν τοῦ ἁγίου, *&c.*

[f] *In Epistolâ ad Rusticum de Exuperio. Nihil illo ditius, &c.*

[g] *Ligari fecit in Orario.*

[h] *Lib. 2. de app. missæ, c. 19. Orarium, pannus quo cælestis Euch. involvebatur.*

[i] *Ib. Cæleste mysterium, haustum arcano pectoris, & fusum in viscera.*

Phil.

Phil. Flesh, when digested, may be said properly to be diffus'd into the Bowels.

Theoph. But you know your Doctors allow not Christs Flesh to be digested, and turned into Chyle and Nutriment.

Phil. These are Niceties; I pray let me proceed without disturbance. You know the Sacrament was usually sent unto the Sick, to be received upon their Beds, *Tanquam viaticum morientium*, as Food for a long Journey, given unto those who were passing from Earth to Heaven. And this was only in one kind, *viz. The Lords Body.*

Theoph. I reckon the sick Principly among such who being absent had the Sacrament sent to them, and have shew'd out of *Justin Martyr*, they had the Mysteries in both kinds. What the Faithful receiv'd in the Church, the same the Deacon carried to the Faithful in their Houses, when by reason of Sickness, or any other justifiable occasion, they could not be present at the publick Solemnity. However, your Instances are only of the Communion in private Houses, and the Mysteries reserv'd; and if one kind only be express'd, the other may be understood. But have you any Testimony of the Church, which expresly shews the Sacrament was given in the Church in one kind only; whereas we have brought a cloud of Witnesses, for the public Communicating in both kinds.

Phil. Yes, many ancient Canons make express mention of the Laick Communion, as distinct from that of the Clergy: So that Priests and Deacons, Criminals, were censur'd to Communicate only as the People, not as the Priests, that is in one kind, not in both. So the *Eliberitan* Council, *Anno* 305. in the 76. Canon, speaking of any Deacon who shall receive Holy Orders, being conscious of a great Sin he had before committed, [a] *If he discovers not himself after five Years penance, Let him be admitted to the Communion of Laicks.* So the Council of *Sardica*, Can. 2do. concerning Bishops highly criminal, Decrees, *They shall not be admitted unto the Communion of Laicks, even on their Death-beds.* And so in many other Councils, mention is made of the Communion of Lay-people.

Theoph. Yes, we do acknowledg it: But how do you prove that which you and *Bellarmin* design thereby, That κοινωνία λαϊκὴ, was to receive in one kind. We know the Canons by that expression imply, That Men in Holy Orders, committing scandalous Offences, should be degraded, and lie under the severities of Church Discipline and Penance, proportionable to their demerrit; and if at all they are restored to the Communion of the Church, they should be as Lay-men, and not restored to the Priests Office; they should receive the Sacrament without the Quire, with the common People.

[a] *Bin. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 237. *Si quis Diaconus, &c. Post quinquennium actâ pœnit. accipiat Laicam Communionem.*

[b] Μετὰ τὸ πολὺν λαϊκῆς, &c.

Phil. [a] *Bellarmin* makes ſport at this ridiculous Anſwer. Saith he, This puniſhment was ſomtimes ſo inflicted, that perſons offending ſhould not be reconcil'd and admitted to this Laic Communion, but in peril of Death; nay not then neither, as you have heard in the ſecond Canon of the Council of *Sardica*: Now to ſick Men upon their Death-bed, what diſtinction can there be of place, or what preheminence can a Prieſt have more then a Lay-man? and ſo *Communio Laica*, no puniſhment.

Theoph. This is Wrangling, not Diſputing: We ſay, as [b] *Cyprian, A Prieſt ſo offending, let him become a Lay-man, and in that quality admitted after repentance, unto the Communion*, whether in the Church or in his Houſe, *but let him not return unto the Prieſts Office.* One of your French Biſhops, *Gabriel Albaſpinus*, hath ſufficiently confuted *Bellarmin*, and all his Diſciples in this Point; ſhewing, this *Communio Laica*, implied the condition of a Lay-perſon, and not any difference from a Prieſt in receiving the Sacrament only in one kind. [c] *For*, ſaith he, *in* Cyprian's *time, and when theſe Canons fore-mentioned were made, the Communion was given to the People in both kinds.* He brings many Inſtances to prove it.

Phil. [d] *Bellarmin* brings another Argument, drawn from the conſent and teſtimony of the later Ages of the Church, *That it is evident for more then 800 Years, That in ſome Churches, in the public Aſſemblies, the uſe was to give the Sacrament in one kind. And the Greek Church*, ſaith he, *never objected this as an Error to the Latin Church*; which is an Argument they accounted it lawful; for otherwiſe they were willing and quick-ſighted to diſcover all our faults.

Theoph. This ſhews *Bellarmins* confidence, To aſſert ſtoutly, and prove faintly: How doth he make good the uſe of 800. Years.

Phil. The Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* ſay, *It had been in uſe for ſome long time*, as you have heard before. And ſo *Th. of Aquin.* before this Council, tells us, *That in ſome Churches it was well obſerved to with-hold the Cup from the People, for the greater reverence and caution.*

Theoph. Theſe proofs fall ſhort by more then half of 800 years. *Aquinas* liv'd in the 13th Century, and then the Communion in one kind had got but little footing, only in ſome Churches, as he acknowledgeth. the Councils followed in the 14th Century. We acknowledg the with-holding of the Cup from the People, began after 1200 Years after Chriſtianity, in the Weſtern Church, but never in the Eaſtern Church. *Bellarmin* offers at another proof of a longer date in *Bernards* time, related in the Hiſtory of his Life; written by one of his Contemporaries, one

[a] *Lib. 4. c. 24. de Sacramento Euch. Nulla diſtinctio notari poteſt, &c.*

[b] *Epiſtola 52. Communicet ut Laicus & non uſurpet locum Sacerdotis.*

[c] *Lib. 1. Obſervat. c. 4. de Communione Laicâ. Tempore Concil. quibus de Laica Commun. fit mentio, &c.*

[d] *Ibid. conſtat. ab annis plus trecentis uſum in quibuſd. Eccleſiis communionis ſub una ſpecie in publico cœtu fidelium. Et conſtat Græcos nunquam hoc Latinis objeciſſe.*

William an Abbot: but thoſe Books of his Life are ſo full of Legends, that I would not chooſe to take in ſuch a Dung-hill. They make *Bernard* to work as many Miracles as our Bleſſed Savior.

Phil. It is your ſecureſt way of anſwering our Autorities, by ſlighting them. But I have one conſiderable Argument more out of *Bellarmin*, to prove the Antiquity of giving the Sacrament in one kind, in the public Adminiſtration thereof, out of the [a] *Roman Ritual*, which is conceiv'd to have bin compos'd by *Alcquine*, Tutor to *Charles the Great*, above 800 years ſince.

Theoph. Out of which Ritual we have expreſly proved the contrary already.

Phil. Hereby you may judg how ſlightly you examine things, and Books; for in the *Ordo Romanus* you will find, That the Wine is conſecrated in a little Chalice, and the Pope drinks of it: and afterwards, the Arch-Deacon pours out ſome of the Conſecrated Wine into a great Flagon, or Cup of other Wine and Water, and ſo it is Sanctified for the Peoples drinking, but not Conſecrated.

Theoph. This Paſſage proves the People did drink of the Cup, but the Pope it ſeems muſt have ſome preheminence above them: and for the diſtinction of the Wine Sanctified but not Conſecrated, I underſtand it not. [b] The Ritual ſaith enough for the Cup which was given to the People: *The Wine not Conſecrated, but mix'd with the Blood of Chriſt (out of the firſt Chalice) is Sanctified to all effects.* And *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth it was call'd, *The Cup of the Lords Blood.*

Phil. I come now to ſhew the Motives which induc'd the Church to with-hold the Cup.

Theoph. I wiſh'd long ſince you would come to this Chapter, for I did ſuppoſe your Proofs and Teſtimonies out of Antiquity, would be inſignificant; but if there be ſufficient reaſon for the practice, it might excuſe in part, altho, in truth, no human Reaſon ſhould prevail againſt Chriſts Inſtitution, in ſuch things, as are the Sacraments, meerly of Inſtituted Worſhip.

Phil. Gerſon, the Famous Chancellor of *Paris*, eminent for his Books full of Piety and Learning, was preſent at the Council of *Conſtance*, and hath written in defence thereof, and of their Act in prohibiting the Cup unto the Clergy; and he gives the reaſon of the prohibition. Firſt, [c] out of great Reverence to Chriſts pretious Blood, which if communicated to many, might be eaſily ſpilt upon the Earth by the Deacons ſtumbling, who ſhould carry it to the People. [d] It might ſtick upon their Beards; and a Palſie hand might ſhake and ſpill it.

Theoph. Theſe Inconveniencies are accidental, and if involuntary,

a *Ordo Romanus.*

b *Ordo Rom. vinum etiam non conſecratum ſed ſang. Domini commixtum, &c.*

c *Caſu aliquo profundi potuit, circumgeſtari ſine periculo nequit.*

d *Aliqui Laicorum barbas habent. Aliqui Paralytici ſunt.*

God will not impute Sin to them. As for the Lay-mens Beards, the Priests are not such Shavelings, but that they may be liable unto the same Objection. And the Disciples of Christ at Supper with him, are pictur'd with very grave Beards. And withal, these Inconveniencies may follow the Bread Consecrated: It may stick in their Teeth, and the crumbs may fall to the ground; and you know your Doctors teach, that whole Christ, Divinity, Soul and Body, are contain'd in every minute Particle of the Host. Out of such pretended Reverence, me thinks, you might be as solicitous, That the Precious Body and Blood of Christ should not be receiv'd into the fuming Caldron of the Stomach, and so keep the Sacrament from us all, in your Patins and Chalices of pure Gold.

Phil. Another consideration is, [a] That Wine will sooner grow sower, and breed Worms, if it be long kept; as the Eucharist of Christs Body will not.

Theoph. Yes, it will grow mouldy and vinew'd; and besides, the Mice may, without care, devour it. But what needs this reservation of the Sacrament, either in the Church, or in our Houses? Blessed be God, we have Tranquility and Peace, and if our Hearts did not draw back, may Communicate often in the Church. However, you do not hold, that Christs Blood, under the Species of Wine, can putrifie, and what need you be so solicitous for the simple accidents of the Element of Wine.

Phil. Another thing is considerable: [b] Some persons may nauseate Wine, and the common People are not us'd to drink Wine; and so it may cause vomiting.

Theoph. Such an Instance seldom happening, cannot prescribe against a general Rule of practice: If the Stomach, thro' an occult quality, should loath either Bread or Wine, God would dispense with such a Man, and likewise the Church. And altho the common People do not drink Wine usually, yet Experience shews, that little Wine they take in the Sacrament never disturbs them. Suppose I should tell them, as you do, It is Christs Flesh, and Christs Blood really, materially, this would cause an abhorrency and loathing. Men have not such Canibal Stomachs, easily to digest such Doctrines.

Phil. I pray forbear your Drollery, and let me proceed. In some remote [c] Countries near the Pole, Wine cannot be had without great difficulty: And shall they therefore forbear the Sacrament?

Theoph. Unto these Countries the Seas are open, and Merchants Trade, and Men should take care, and be at some charge, to fulfil an Ordinance of Christ, for the great benefit of their Souls. So in many Countries, there is no Corn to make Bread, but what convei'd from other places. And now tell me seriously, Are not these pitiful Shifts, and

[a] *Hyems cito acescat Æstate putrescat.*
[b] *Fastidium bibentibus afferet.*
[c] *In quibusd. locis difficile comparatur.*

ſhallow Conſiderations? Reaſons flowing from a Mans Invention, rather then Judgment: Shall theſe things ballance the Inſtitution of Chriſt and the Apoſtles practice, and of the Church for ſo many Ages? the end and ſignification of the Sacrament, as we have manifeſted at large. If ye had weightier Motives, moſt of your Doctors would not produce ſuch as theſe: and herein you do ingeniouſly declare, That the wit of Man, with all the advantages of Human Learning, cannot ſpeak a word of ſenſe to juſtifie your unreaſonable Practice againſt the Ordinance of Chriſt.

Phil. You make too much haſte: I have reſerv'd the beſt Arguments to the laſt. Is there not reaſon the Clergy ſhould have ſome preheminence above the People in theſe great Myſteries: [a] The dignity of the Clergy requires this difference.

Theoph. Their dignity appears in thoſe things which Chriſt hath left to their Miniſtration: in teaching and ruling the People, diſtributing unto Chriſts Flock the Divine Food of his Word and Sacraments. But the Lords Supper is common to all Gods children, who are invited to feed at their Fathers table upon the ſame Proviſions: they all want ſpiritual Food and Nuriſhment for their Souls and Bodies, and are all Invited to come and take the Waters of Life freely; and they are Inhuman and Accurſed who would forbid the Lords People to draw Water out of the Well of Salvation, to cheer their Hearts with this Wine of Conſolation. Beſides, it hath bin declared before unto you, out of *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophilact*, That in the Sacraments of the Church under the Goſpel, the Prieſts and People are equally concern'd.

Phil. The laſt and weightieſt Conſideration is this. That ſeeing the Church repreſentative, in three General Councils, hath forbid the Cup unto the People: It proceeds in them from a turbulent and Schiſmatical Spirit, to be ſo clamorous and importunate to have it reſtor'd, againſt the Canons of the Church. I will produce the Canon of the Council of *Conſtance*, which firſt determin'd the Sacrament unto one kind. [b] *The Sacred General Council of* Conſtance, *lawfully Aſſembled in the Power of the Holy Ghoſt, Declares, Determins, and Defines, That altho Chriſt Inſtituted the Sacrament after Supper, and gave it to his Diſciples in both kinds, notwithſtanding this, the Sacrament ought not to be celebrated after Supper, nor be received by the Faithful not Faſting. And likewiſe, altho in the Primitive Church the Sacrament was received in both kinds, yet to avoid ſome Perils and Scandals, the Cuſtom is rationally introduc'd, That the Prieſt Conſecrating ſhould receive in both kinds, but the People only in the Species of Bread.* You ſee the Council fully approves the cuſtom and confirms it, and therefore paſt the ſevere Cenſure following: *That no Prieſt, under pain of Ex-*

[a] *Alias dignitas Sacerdot. & Laicorum par eſſet.*

[b] *Cœna Koivn.*

[c] *Bin. part. 2. Tom. 7. Seſſione 13. Concil. Conſtant. Concil. Sacrum generale Conſtanſ. in Spiritu ſancto legit. congregatum declarat, &c.*

com-

Communication, ſhall Communicate the People under both kinds. And declares, *That ſuch as pertinaciouſly affirm it to be unlawful, or ſacrilegious, to give the Sacrament in one kind, ſhall be proceeded againſt as Heretics.* You conſider not therefore what danger you incur by arguing ſo peremtorily againſt this Point.

Theoph. We are not ſolicitous for the danger, in the cauſe of Chriſt and defence of Truth; and we know, where your Church wants reaſon to juſtifie her practice, ſhe hath the argument of the Club, with ſeverity above meſure to maintain it. But let us reaſon calmly in the Point. What Motive induc'd the Council to make ſuch a Decree, notwithſtanding the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the practice of the Primitive Church.

Phil. Your Party generally deſign to load the Council with the envy of that Expreſſion, *Non obſtante*; but you may obſerve, the Council therein only had reſpect unto our Saviors giving the Sacrament after Supper, notwithſtanding which, the Church appoints it to be receiv'd in the Morning, and faſting.

Theoph. This was not the matter then in queſtion, and needed no confirmation; for in the Primitive Times, the Sacrament was given in the Morning, and to ſuch as were able to forbear, it was given faſting. But the great concern, was the Communion in both kinds, acknowledged to be Chriſts Inſtitution, and that he gave it to his Diſciples in both kinds; and then immediatly follows, *Hoc non obſtante, &c.* And therefore ſhift it off as well as you can, the words of the Council decrees for the Communion in one kind, notwithſtanding Chriſts Inſtitution and Example, and the practice of the Primitive Church. But however, anſwer my queſtion: What induc'd the Council to decree it?

Phil. The Motive is expreſs'd, [b] *Becauſe we muſt not doubt, but ſtedfaſtly believe, That whole Chriſt, his Body and Blood, is contain'd under either Species of the Sacrament: And therefore ſuch a cuſtom of giving the Sacrament in one kind, introduc'd by the Church, and the Holy Fathers, and obſerv'd for a moſt long time, let it be taken for a Law.*

Theoph. The firſt part is warily penn'd: [c] *We muſt ſtedfaſtly believe, that whole Chriſt is verily contain'd, as well under one Species as the other.* So it may be, if it be in neither: and ſo we hold, Chriſt is contain'd in neither ſingly, but he is ſignified and Sacramentally repreſented, and really and ſpiritually exhibited by the Sacrament in both kinds unto the Faithful Receiver. His Body that was broken for us, is ſignified by breaking of Bread; and his Blood ſhed, by the Wine poured out of the Cup, and ſeparated from the Bread in the Sacrament: and therefore at preſent, we will diſmiſs this School nicety, and, by the Councils leave, not take it for granted, That whole Chriſt, Body and Soul, is in either Species.

Quod nullus Presbyter ſub pœna Excommunicat. communicet Populum ſub utraque Specie.

[b] *Cum firmiſſime ſit credendum & nullatenus dubitandum, &c.*

[c] *Tam ſub Specie panis, quam ſub ſpecie vini veraciter contineri.*

But

But the principal motive follows. Seeing ſuch a cuſtom of giving the Sacrament in one kind, hath been introduc'd and moſt long obſerv'd by the Church and Fathers; we Decree it ſhall be taken for a Law, which ſhall not be changed or reprobated without the Autority of the Church. [b] The Council of *Baſil* makes and confirms the ſame Decree upon the ſame Motives: *Whole and intire Chriſt is under either kind, and the laudable cuſtom of Communicating the Laity under one kind, induc'd by Church and Fathers, and hitherto moſt long obſerv'd, and approv'd by Doctors skilful in Gods Law, and in the Holy Scripture, and in Church Canons, long ſince. Let it be a Law, &c.*

Phil. Yes: The Cuſtom and Practice of the Church ſhould prevail with ſober Men, not given to Faction; eſpecially when confirm'd by General Conncils.

Theoph. Why ſhould not then the Cuſtom and Practice of the Church, which we have prov'd for ſo many Ages, prevail for adminiſtring the Sacrament in both kinds, eſpecially being exactly conformable unto Chriſts Inſtitution and Command, and Apoſtolical Tradition.

Phil. Stay there: We abſolutely deny any command of Chriſt, or of his Apoſtles, or of the Church repreſentative in a General Council, to adminiſter the Sacrament in both kinds, and we ſhew two Councils forbidding it.

Theoph. You deny, but the Scriptures affirm: And the reaſon why no General Council determin'd the Sacrament to be in both kinds, was, becauſe the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the Tradition of the Apoſtles, and the practice of the whole Church, was ſo full and expreſs for it. It was never put to the Queſtion, as I can find, until the 13th Century: and from that time, when the School-men began to ſwarm, moſt of them being ſworn Champions of the See of *Rome*: *The laudable Cuſtom*, as the Council ſpeaks, *approv'd by Holy Fathers, (viz. Monks and Friers) crept inſenſibly into the Church.* And this muſt be made a ground of Canons, to eſtabliſh the Communion in one kind, and forbid the Cup, and declare a Curſe upon all thoſe that ſhall diſpute it. And now, when I ſhall declare the reaſon, I hope your goodneſs will excuſe that great trouble to my ſelf and you, in thoſe numerous Quotations and Teſtimonies I have brought to prove the practice of the Church for 1200 Years, in giving the Sacrament unto the People in both kinds. It was chiefly upon this deſign, to manifeſt the groſs abſurdity of thoſe two Councils, *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, who (as you have heard) do ground their Decree for one kind, upon the laudable cuſtom of the Church, taken up not above 100 Years before, againſt the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the conformable practice of the Church for 1200 Years. And withal, to manifeſt their impudence in calling that a cuſtom rationally introduc'd, when ſuch

[a] *Diutiſſime obſ.*

[b] *Bin. Tom.* 8. *Concil. Baſil. Seſſ.* 30. *Sub qualibet Specie eſt integer & totus Chriſtus laudab. quoque conſuet. communi. Laicos, &c.*

trifling Motives are brought to eſtabliſh it. And in ſaying, it was *diutiſſime obſervata*, for a long time obſerv'd, when they cannot ſhew one clear Inſtance, ſave in the Age immediatly before, That the Sacrament was adminiſtred in public in one kind in any Chriſtian Church.

Phil. It doth not become your Prudence and Moderation ſo to undervalue General Councils.

Theoph. Alaſs, Thoſe two pitiful Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, you may call them Oecumenical, but you give no more Autority to them, then you think fit: As far as their Decrees ſuit the Genius of the Court of *Rome*, they are confirm'd, and no farther. [a] *Binius*, in his Notes upon the Council of *Conſtance*, tells us, *It was approv'd in part, in thoſe Decrees againſt* Wicliff, Huſſe, *and* Jerome *of* Prague. *: But in the determination of the Autority of a General Council above the Pope, it was abrogated by two General Councils, of* Florence, *and the* Lateran. [b] So the Council of *Baſil* depoſing *Eugenius* the 4th from his Papacy, *As a Simoniacal and perjur'd Man, an incorrigible Schiſmatic, erring from the Faith, injurious, and betraying the Goods of the Church*; And chooſing *Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, Pope, called *Felix* the fifth, and Declaring, *That a Council is above the Pope, and hath its Power immediatly from Chriſt*: Alas, for theſe things, this poor Council is hiſt off the Stage of the World. [c] And in the *Lateran* General Council, under *Leo* the 10th, *It is call'd a Schiſmatical and Seditious Conventicle, and altogether of no Autority.* And yet theſe are the Councils upon whoſe Autority you ſo much depend to eſtabliſh your half Communion; and pronounce us all Heretical and Contumacious, for not ſubmitting our Reaſon and our Conſciences thereunto, even againſt the Scripture and againſt the Fathers of the Church.

Phil. But the General Council of *Trent* hath no Exception, being held 18 years, and confirm'd by Pope *Pius* the fourth, and ſubſcrib'd by his Cardinals, as appears by the Bull of Confirmation. See the Council of *Trent*, ſet forth in Latin by *John Gallemart*, D. D. and Profeſſor at *Douey*.

Theoph. Of the Council of *Trent*, read the Hiſtory of Father *Paul*, a Prier at *Venice*, a Man of Learning, Judgment, and Piety, beyond compare; and there you will find what juſt cauſe the World hath to decline the Autority and Decrees of that Cabal: That great Eccleſiaſtical Body, whoſe Soul and Spirit was at *Rome*, receiving day by day Orders, and Directions, and Determinations, from thence in a Portmantle. The Biſhops and Fathers of the Council, were acted more by Reaſons of State and Principles of Policy, then of Piety; and conſulted the Pope and the Conclave at *Rome*, more then the Holy Scripture and the Fathers

[a] *Part.* 2. *Tom.* 7. *pag.* 1134. *Ex parte Approbatum. in iis quæ contra* Wicleſum, *&c.*

[b] *Bin. Tom.* 8. *Seſſ.* 34. *Conc. Baſil. Tanquam Simoniacum, & perjurum, incorrig. Sciſmaticum, fidei devium, injurium & bonorum Eccleſiæ proditorem.*

[c] *Seſſ.* 11. *Bin. in notis in Concil. Baſil. p.* 526. *Conciliabulum Schiſmat. &c.*

of

of the Church: And withal, you have no reaſon to urge us of *England* with the Autority of the *Trent* Council, when none of our Biſhops were there, except only one fugitive. And as I take it, our Potent Neighbors of *France* have not yet accepted that Council: and withal, the Council is of too late an Edition to bear up its Autority againſt the conſent and practice of ſo many Ages of the Church. And therefore, being now grown weary of the Controverſie, be pleas'd to anſwer this Queſtion, and we will conclude. Why doth the Church perſiſt ſo ſtifly to maintain the Communion in one kind, againſt ſo many advantages we have ſhew'd, and you muſt acknowledg on the other ſide? eſpecially, ſeeing in the Council of *Trent* it was ſo much deſir'd by the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and by the Princes and People of *Germany*, well affected (ſo to make up the breach, and keep many from falling away from the Church of *Rome*) that the Council of *Trent* would allow the Communion in both kinds: yet we find it was not granted, but referr'd wholly to the Popes determination, who never had leiſure to take his infallible Chair, and determine that Controverſie.

Phil. To ſpeak freely, The Fathers of that Council, and the Pope with his Cardinals at *Rome*, in their Wiſdom did well perceive, that ſuch as moved for the Communion in both kinds, were diſ-affected to the Church, and made this a ſpecious bait to catch the People. They ſaw their Conceſſions in this plauſible caſe, would but make way for many complaints more, and grievances to be redreſs'd: You know, not long before, the *Germans* publiſh'd in Print their firſt [a] Century of Grievances, every Article being as a Libel againſt the Church. Hereupon they thought it the wiſeſt courſe to juſtifie the former Councils, and ſtand upon their Autority, and require ſubjection from the true Sons of the Church; and as for Heretics and Schiſmatics, either to ſubdue them by ſubtlety and force, or elſe to ſlight them.

Theoph. This Obſervation of yours, confirms many Paſſages we read of Biſhops [b] in that Council, giving their Vote upon the Queſtion, who mightily oppoſ'd the allowance of the Cup, and urg'd, *That the Church was never obſerved to give the leaſt Indulgence unto Heretics, but to eſtabliſh that which was diametrically oppoſite to their Poſitions.* [c] Another Biſhop ſeconds this Opinion with the Example of the firſt General Council of *Nice*, wherein thoſe 318. Holy Fathers would not yield one tittle to the *Arrians*, altho *Conſtantine* deſired moderation; and the Controverſie had well nigh ſet in a flame the whole World. [d] *Nay*, ſaith he, *they ſtudiouſly rejected many Words and Expreſſions of the Arrians, which were capable of a convenient Interpretation.* And thus you ſee with what intolerable

[a] *Centum gravamina.*

[b] *Joannes Baptiſta Hoſius, Epiſcopus Rheatinus, Lib. 4. Conc. Trid. Seſſ. 2. Eccleſia nunquam conſueverit vel minimum indulg. hereticis, &c.*

[c] *Andreas Cueſta, Epiſcopus Legionenſis.*

[d] *A verbis commoda interpretatione molliendis ex compoſito abſtinuerunt.*

Impudence they accounted their Christian Brethren as Heretics, for following the plain Institution of Christ. The *Arrians* found no favor in the Council of *Nice* from those Orthodox and Godly Fathers, nor the least degree of complyance; neither must the Protestants in *Germany* from the Council of *Trent*. But there was something more in the Wind that hindred the Reformation of the See of *Rome*; namely this, That if upon the complaint of Nations and People, the Pope should reform abuses, especially such as had been Decreed in Councils: It would be a tacite acknowledgment, that the Church of *Rome* had solemnly erred in making such unjustifiable Decrees; and so the jealous People would begin to suspect and examine all her Determinations, and be easily perswaded by their Schismatical Guides that in many things the Church had miscarried, and Bills of exceptions and complaint would be put up one after another, as the interest and malice of her Adversaries should contrive them: and therefore, the safest way was ever found for the Church of *Rome* to stand upon her Justification against the clamors of the whole World, and to put Princes in mind of their Obedience to the Church, and the Obligation that lies upon them by force of Arms to subdue their contumacious Subjects, and make them submit unto Rules and Disciplines of the Church. This was the sum of that smart Council which Cardinal *Soderine* gave unto Pope *Adrian*, when the good old Man was much perplex'd with the Complaints and Demands of the *German* Princes and their People, against the corruptions chiefly of the Court of *Rome*: His Piety, and Simplicity, and good Nature, being not well vers'd in the Politics of *Rome*, promted him to endeavor satisfaction, and reform all such Abuses as might give just occasion of offence and grievance to their Adversaries. About this great Work of Reforming, he consults the Conclave, and the necessity of the Times; and the public Scandal of Abuses, induc'd many of the Cardinals to advise a Reformation of many things which were in question. But at last, the subtle and experienc'd Cardinal *Soderinus*, who had been vers'd in the Affairs of Christendom under three active Popes, *Alexander* and *Julius*, and *Leo* the 10th, turns the Scale of their Votes, and absolutly disswades any appearance or attemt of a Reformation. He tells them, *That never any Pope with his Cardinals before, thought that a convenient way; but rather by the Interest of Princes, and the power of the Sword, to suppress and extirpate unquiet and schismatical Spirits. That no Pope cur'd Heresies by a Reformation, but by the Cruciats, as they are all'd, the Princes and People being stirr'd up against them, wearing the badge of the Cross upon their Coat of Arms.*

Phil. I must confess, Experience hath found this way the surest; for so Pope *Innocent* the 3d suppress the *Albigenses* in *France*; and *Charles* the fifth, the *German* Protestant Princes.

Theoph. But thro the Providence of God, you find the *Lutherans* are

[a] *Sed cruciatis quas vocant; excitatis contra eos Principibus & Populis Crucis simbolo insignitis.*

yet

yet alive in *Germany*; and ſeveral Princes, together with their Subjects, reform'd themſelves in ſpight of all oppoſition, proteſting againſt thoſe Errors, which the Church of *Rome* intends to juſtifie only by the Sword, and by the Inquiſition: and the lower you draw your Obſervation, the more ſucceſs you will find God hath given unto many Kingdoms and People, againſt the Tyranny and Innovations of *Rome*.

Phil. The Judgments of God are a great deep; and you may not enter into his Secrets, and judg of Truths, by the Succeſs.

Theoph. No, my deſign only was to confute that politic Cardinals Obſervation, and yours, *viz.* 1. That the Peace of the Church is better maintain'd by the Sword, then by a Reformation of Errors and Corruptions. 2. That to acknowledg no Errors, but to ſtand upon the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, is the compendious way to cut off all Complaints and Objections againſt her. But whil'ſt your Doctors ſay, Your Church of *Rome* cannot err, we know ſhe doth err, and that damnably. And hereof we ſhall make a Demonſtration from the effect, and overthrow her pretenſions to Infallibility, by ſhewing, how in many particulars of Doctrine and Practice ſhe hath miſcarried, which is the deſign of this preſent Conference; and by Gods help, and your permiſſion, I will proceed to other Articles and Points of difference between our Church and yours: and let the World judg, upon which ſide the Word and Truths of God determine.

Phil. You carve out work more then ſufficient: However, at preſent, it is high time to intermit theſe Severities of Diſcourſe, and think of taking ſome Recreation. A pleaſant walk into the Grove will refreſh us: And then to make amends for your poor Entertainment, after we have paſt the Evening in Familiarity and Friendſhip, you ſhall take your reſt; and, if you pleaſe, to Morrow we will enter again the Liſts of Diſputation.

THE THIRD PART.

Of Worſhipping IMAGES.

Theoph. SIR, I have found ſo much courteſie within Doors, that now we are come abroad to continue a Diſcourſe of Controverſie, methinks it is not Manners and Civility to oppoſe your choice and Judgment, and try your Patience, who have given ſuch Demonſtrations of your goodneſs. But when all proceeds from a Zeal to Truth, and from a cordial Affection to ſo worthy a Friend, and you have charity to believe it, I am encouraged to proceed. Having therefore diſcuſſ'd already two Points, I propoſe the third to Conſideration. The great ſcandal that is given by your Church of *Rome* unto ſober Men and good Chriſtians, from Images and their Worſhip, ſo much pleaded for and defended by your Doctors.

Phil. This was indeed a third Objection, which in the beginning of this Conference you propoſ'd againſt the Doctrine and Practice of our Church, which you ſuppoſe hath given occaſion of Scandal both to the Learned and unlearned, as being obvious (as you ſaid) unto every underſtanding: But where lie the apparent Exceptions againſt this Point?

Theoph. The ſecond Commandment appears at firſt ſight to forbid worſhipping of Images, and you allow it.

Phil. So you make your deluded People to believe, deſigning to create a prejudice and odium againſt our Church, that ſo you might keep them firm to your heady ſeparation from us: But your Learned know in their Conſciences, that we do not tranſgreſs this Commandment, neither in the thing forbidden, or in the manner of Worſhipping our Images; which are not included in the prohibition of Gods Law.

Theoph. You appeal to the Learned of our ſide, as tho you would allow them to decide the Controverſie if they would ſpeak the dictates of their Conſciences. But this is a ſleight and Artifice, to wipe off your own guilt, and lay the charge of Diſſimulation to our Doctors: But their Grounds and Reaſons, when produc'd, will manifeſt to the World, that the charge they lay againſt them of tranſgreſſing the rule of Gods Word in this Point, proceeds out of Conſcience and not Deſign: you give a great ſcandal and offence to God and Man, and would not have us zealous to reprove it.

Phil.

Phil. Zeal without knowledg and diſcretion, hath ſet the World in a Flame, and you are forward to blow the Coals.

Theoph. We read, *Iſa.* 6. 7. how a Seraphim took a Coal from the Altar, and laid it upon the Prophets mouth, and ſo gave him commiſſion and command to ſpeak. Now the word of God is this coal from the Altar, enkindling Holy Fires in the Heart, and opening the Mouth of his Servants to adjuſt his will reveal'd, againſt the Tranſgreſſors thereof.

Phil. You will in ſhort time pretend to Enthuſiaſm; when we have beaten you off from your ſtrong hold, your ſuppoſed ſanctuary in the Scriptures, that muſt be your laſt refuge.

Theoph. Your Fathers and Founders of the ſeveral Orders, have ſhew'd the way, and acted the Phanatic part ſo well, that you preſume we muſt needs be taken with it, and herein become their Diſciples: but if it be Enthuſiaſm to follow the rule of Holy Scripture, and ſhew how palpably you do ſwerve from it; we ſhall be ambitious of that reproach.

Phil. It is an ill Omen to engage in Quarrels and bitter Reproaches, before one Argument hath paſt between us. If you have any thing to object againſt our Doctrine, or our practice concerning Images and their Worſhip, let us hear it.

Theoph. God, in the ſecond Commandment, hath forbid us *to make and worſhip Images*; and your Church hath mightily advanc'd the Trade of Painting, and Carving, and Graving Images, and require veneration and worſhip to be given to them.

Phil. Let us proceed by degrees to anſwer your Objection, which conſiſts of many parts: Do you condemn us for allowing and countenancing the Art of Imagery?

Theoph. If we did, we ſhould not want the Autority of ſome Antients, ſo ſeverely did they adhere to the Letter of the ſecond Commandment.

Phil. You know, God himſelf commanded *Moſes* to make *two Cherubins for the Ark, and to erect a brazen Serpent in the Wilderneſs*, Exod. 25. 18.

Theoph. And you may know, That this was objected to *Tertullian*; and I pray obſerve how he anſwers it, [a] *The ſame Lord who forbad Images, by an extraordinary Precept may command them.* And he concludes excellently to our preſent purpoſe. [b] *If you obſerve the ſame God, you have his Law, not to make any likeneſs. If you urge his command afterwards, that* Moſes *ſhould make an Image (of the Cherubins and the brazen Serpent) do then follow* Moſes *example, make no Image againſt the Commandment of God, unleſs the Lord expreſly command thee.* And here, by the way, you may obſerve how in this place *Tertullian*, (and I could ſhew the like of

[a] *Lib. de Idolol. cap.* 5. *Bene quod idem Deus extraordinario præcepto, &c.*

[b] *Si eundem Deum obſervas, habes legem ejus ne feceris ſimilitudinem. Si præcept. poſtea facta, &c.*

many

many of the Fathers) makes no ſuch diſtinction (as your Doctors do) of Idols, which repreſent falſe Gods, *and ſo are nothing in the world*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, 1 *Cor.* 8. 4. and whereunto you preciſely reſtrain the prohibition of the Commandment, or of Images, which repreſent real Things or Perſons, God, Angels, or Men; for you ſee in *Tertullians* Opinion, even the Cherubins, and the Brazen Serpent were included in the Commandment; and had not God afterwards expreſly commanded them to be made, it had not been lawful for *Moſes* to have made them. And I muſt confeſs, I have purpoſely wav'd that Controverſie about the words and ſenſe of the Commandment, becauſe your Doctors have ſo perplex'd it with Notions and Diſtinctions, not intelligible to the Hearer or Reader.

Phil. You will find, the ſame *Tertullian* ſhews, [a] The end of the ſecond Commandment was to prevent Idolatrous Worſhip of Images; as it follows in the Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them.* And that God commanding the Cherubins to be made for Ornament and Furniture of the Tabernacle, it was no contradiction to his Law, having not in them the cauſes of Idolatry, for which the making of Images were prohibited. Such an anſwer he likewiſe gives for the brazen Serpent: It was made for cure, to heal the People who were ſtung with Fiery Serpents in the Wilderneſs, and for a Type of Chriſt, healing the Nations (as our Savior himſelf hath applied it) and a Type likewiſe of the Old Serpent the Devil, hang'd and crucified upon Chriſts Croſs. Theſe things therefore were not againſt the Commandment, becauſe they were not made to be ador'd and worſhipp'd.

Theoph. You have led me whether I deſir'd: We do not conceive all Images, or the making of them, to be forbidden by the ſecond Comment, but only ſuch as are made for Religious Worſhip. [b] *Let not the worſhip of things made with hands become any part of our Religion.* And again, ſaith St. *Auguſtin*, [c] *Let it be no part of our Religion to worſhip Men that are dead; for if they liv'd godly*, ſaith he, *they will never deſire or ſeek after ſuch honors.* [d] *They are to be honor'd for our imitation, not adored as to Religion.* But alas! your Doctors have left the old innocent Plea for Images, whether in Churches or other places; That they may be uſeful for Ornament, for Inſtruction, for an honorable Commemoration of holy Perſons, and for Imitation. All this will not ſuffice, but you will have Veneration and Adoration, and what not, be given unto them: and ſo you have given occaſion of Scandal to the Godly, and of great Superſtition and Idolatry to the more ignorant ſort among your ſelves, who cannot perplex themſelves with ſuch nice Diſtinctions, wherewith your Leaders think to fence themſelves againſt the charge of Idolatry: But

a *Lib.* 2. *Contra Marcionem, c.* 22. *Tanquam ſimplex ornamentum, &c.*
b *Non ſit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus.*
c *Aug De vera Rel, c.* 55. *Tom.* 1. *non ſit nobis Rel. cultus hominum mortuorum.*
d *Honorandi ſunt propter Imitationem, non Adorandi propter Religionem.*

we

we ſhall proceed to ſhew this by degrees: Mean while, leaſt you ſhould make too much uſe of my Conceſſion concerning Images made for ſuch innocent uſes as have been mention'd, That they are not againſt the ſecond Commandment; I muſt here put in a ſolemn caveat againſt your Images of God, which againſt all Reaſon and Religion you make and adore.

Phil. [a] *Bellarmin* doth acknowledg, *That it is not ſo certain in the Church, whether the Image of God and of the Trinity ſhould be made, as whether the Image of Chriſt and of the Saints.*

Theoph. And yet in the ſame Paragraph he aſſerts poſitively, [b] *That it is lawful to picture God the Father in the ſhape of an old Man, and God the Holy Ghoſt in the ſhape of a Dove,* and cites many of your Doctors to confirm his Opinion; and ſo your general practice doth maintain it. Now I will firſt urge the Holy Scripture againſt this Doctrine and Practice of your Church, and then leave you to defend it. *Moſes* gives a great charge nnto the People of *Iſrael,* Deut. 4 15, 16, &c. *Take good heed unto your ſelves, leaſt ye corrupt and make you a graven Image, the ſimilitude of any figure, the likeneſs of male or female, the likeneſs of any beaſt or winged foul, the likeneſs of any creeping thing upon the ground, or of any fiſh in the waters; and leaſt thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou ſeeſt the hoſt of heaven, ſhouldſt be driven to worſhip them and ſerve them.*

Phil. This charge is level'd againſt the Idolatry of the Gentiles, and thoſe Nations whom God caſt out of *Canaan,* who did worſhip graven Images of Men, and Women, and Beaſts, and creeping things, for Gods.

Theoph. The Clauſe and Parentheſis in the firſt Verſe of this charge: *For ye ſaw no manner of ſimilitude on the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb, I ſay this Clauſe manifeſts, That God gave the charge, leſt by any thing after mention'd, they ſhould attemt to repreſent him. It is truth, that the Heathen did repreſent their falſe Gods in and by ſuch Shapes and Images, and did worſhip them. And the Almighty God, by a full enumeration of Creatures, forbids any ſimilitude to be made to repreſent and to worſhip him under it: And to this effect, the Prophet *Iſaiah* expoſtulates with an Idolatrous People: *To whom will ye liken God? or what likeneſs will ye compare unto him?* Iſa. 40. 18. The beſt Image of God, is Man, an Image of the Lords own making, that this likeneſs and ſimilitude of God conſiſts in the Soul of Man, with her noble Faculties of Free-will and Underſtanding, and dominion over the Creatures, in that original rectitude and holineſs wherewith he was created. but theſe things cannot be repreſented by the lineaments of a Picture or an Image, which only repreſent the dimenſions and features of a Body;

[a] *Bell. Tom. 2. l. 2. de Eccleſiâ triumph. c. 8. Non eſſe tam certum in Eccleſiâ an ſint faciendæ Imag. Dei, &c.*

[b] *Licere pingere etiam Imag Dei Patris in form. hominis ſenis, & Spiritum Sanctum inf. columbæ.*

and

and therefore by the Image of a Man, God cannot be repreſented, and much leſs by any inferior Creature. God is Infinite, and Inviſible, and Spiritual; and all Images are finite and material, and terminated by viſible dimenſions, and therefore one cannot reſemble another.

Phil. To this *Bellarmin* anſwers, [1] *That God cannot be repreſented eſſentially by an Image, but Hiſtorically and Analogically he may.*

Theoph. Your Doctors have vented new and dangerous Doctrines; and you may obſerve what a fine Web they ſpin of nice and ſubtle Diſtinctions, to catch the unwary People in the Snare: What a rumbling noiſe this makes in a Country-mans ear, enough to put him in a Sound. God cannot be repreſented by an Image Eſſentially, yet Hiſtorically and Analogically he may.

Phil. Our Church takes care, that the Prieſts ſhould inſtruct the ignorant People, and explain theſe and the like diſtinctions to them: and ſo doth *Bellarmin* explain himſelf in this Chapter.

Theoph. It were the nearer, and far eaſier way of Inſtruction, to leave the People to keep the Commandment without any worſhip of Images, and without the labyrinth of your perplex'd Diſtinctions: But I pray ſhew what *Bellarmin* means by the Hiſtorical and Analogical Pictures of God.

Phil. You know, *Gregory the Great* call'd Pictures, *The Books of Laymen*: Such as could not read or ſtudy the Scriptures, might behold many Hiſtorical paſſages of Scripture, carv'd, and limn'd, and repreſented to the Eye. As to ſee in a Picture our Bleſſed Savior wrap'd in Swadling-clothes, and lying in a Manger, and the Wiſe-men worſhipping and preſenting Gifts. So his Circumciſion, his Baptiſm, his Scourging and Crucifixion, effectually repreſented in Pictures, may more ſenſibly affect the Heart, then bare reading the Hiſtories in the Goſpel.

Theoph. But what is this to the Hiſtorical Image of God? Chriſts Picture is taken as he is Man.

Phil. Bellarmin explains himſelf as to that, In that Hiſtorical paſſage of Gods appearing to *Adam* and *Eve* in the midſt of the Garden, *Gen.*3. after they had eaten of the forbidden Fruit, to paint a Man walking in amidſt the Trees of Paradice; and our firſt Parents hiding from his preſence, is to repreſent God Hiſtorically.

Theoph. Or rather falſly and unwarrantably: For the Text ſaith not, that God did appear in an humane Shape; but only, *That* Adam *and* Eve *heard the voice of the Lord God, walking in the Garden in the cool of the day, and hid themſelves*, ver. 8. How God was pleaſed to manifeſt himſelf to them, is not expreſs'd: they muſt draw the Image of a voice, to repreſent aright that Hiſtory.

Phil. But there is another inſtance more oppoſite, of thoſe three Men who appeared to *Abraham* at his Tent door in the plain of *Mambre*, *Gen.* 18. It is expreſly ſaid in the firſt verſe, *The Lord appeared to* Abraham

[1] *Ubi ſupra, Tribus modis poteſt aliquid pingi, &c.*

as he ſat at the Tent door. God therefore was repreſented by one of theſe three Men, who afterwards (as we read, *ver.* 17.) *Had and communed with* Abraham, *when the other two went to* Sodom. Now to draw three waifering Men turning in to *Abraham*'s Tent, and entertain'd by him, whereof two departed towards *Sodom*, and the third communed with *Abraham*, would be Hiſtorically to repreſent God under the Image of a Man.

Theoph. We deny not, that three Men may be drawn coming towards *Abraham*, and all the ſequel of the Story: but we deny, that either of theſe thus pictur'd would be the Image of God, repreſenting him. God afterwards manifeſted himſelf to *Abraham*, in communication, in means unknown to us; whereas under the ſimilitude of a Man, he was altogether unknown to the Bleſſed Patriarch. You may as well ſay, a Cloud is Gods Image, becauſe *he appeared to* Moſes *and the* Iſraelites *in a thick Cloud upon Mount* Sinai, *Exod.* 19. 9. The ſame reaſon holds, for the Holy Ghoſt deſcending upon Chriſt in the ſhape of a Dove: the Dove was no Image of the Holy Ghoſt, had no ſimilitude or repreſentation of the third Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity, who is the Eternal Spirit, and cannot be repreſented by Picture. If you ſaw the Picture of a Dove, you would not ſay, This is the ſimilitude or Image of the Holy Ghoſt.

Phil. The whole Scene of Chriſts Baptiſm being repreſented in a Table, and among the reſt, a Dove deſcending upon Chriſt, it would put us in mind of the Holy Ghoſts deſcent upon him.

Theoph. So the Rain-bow in the Clouds, puts us in mind of Gods gracious Promiſe, never to drown the World a ſecond time. Theſe are Signs, but not Similitudes or Images. Anſwer me this Queſtion: Would you worſhip one of them as God? If we ſaw the Baptiſm of Chriſt repreſented in Images, would you worſhip the Dove pictur'd therein? or would you worſhip the ſhape of fiery Tongues in Picture deſcending upon the Apoſtles?

Phil. I am not concern'd to give an Anſwer to ſuch Impertinencies.

Theoph. Well, if you will not be put out of your road, proceed: and ſhew what *Bellarmin* means by an Analogical Picture of God.

Phil. He tells us, [a] *That things may be repreſented and painted, and their nature explicated, not by an immediate and proper ſimilitude, but by Analogy, or a Metaphorical and Myſtical repreſentation.*

Theoph. Alas! with how much difficulty doth your great Doctor expreſs himſelf: Fain he would ſay ſomwhat to the purpoſe, but knows not what: and therefore he involves himſelf in a cloud of myſtical terms and notions, very well ſuited, doubtleſs, to the capacity, and for the Inſtruction of the People. I muſt needs acknowledg, I comprehend him not, and much doubt whether he underſtood himſelf.

Phil. Your doubts and no underſtanding muſt be no rule to us. *Bellarmine* well explains himſelf by following Inſtances; *As we picture An-*

[a] *Ut ſupra. Poteſt aliquid pingi ad explicand. &c.*

gels, saith he, *with youthful and fair Countenances, and with wings, to shew their speed in Gods service, and their flourishing state always in the spring of youth; as Christ is pictur'd in the form of a Lamb to represent innocency and meekness:* after this Analogical way, Man is the Image of God, even *extrà historiam*; and we may picture God under an humane shape.

Theoph. Your Doctor deriv'd this deep Theology from the *Pythagoreans*, or rather from the old Idolatrous *Egyptian* Priests, who were much taken with Hieroglyphics. But I pray observe, how his Instance in Man as the Analogical Image of God, is the worst chosen of all the rest: For all Lambs are meek and patient, and so may Hieroglyphically represent the patience and meekness of Christ. But most Men are evil, *like the Beasts that perish*; as Lions, and Tigers, and Wolves, devouring one another; as Swine and Goats for Lust, and so are become rather Images of the Devil. And notwithstanding all this, must the single Image and Figure of a Man, without any other thing to determin it, represent God, and become his Analogical Picture? and let me observe to you, how they deal worse with God, then with the Angels; for these they picture fair and youthful, to represent their florid incorruptible state: but they picture God, *as the antient of days*, whom we read of in the Prophet, *Dan.* 7. 9. with a grey Beard, and antique Countenance, as if he had one foot in the Grave.

Phil. That form fitly represents Gods Eternity.

Theoph. Any thing that shall please the fancy, where there is no ground in Reason or Religion to determine it. The Heathen Poets made prodigious Deities; and so do Christian Painters. But what Analogy can there be between the Divine Nature and an Image? the one is Infinite, the other finite; the one a Spirit, the other altogether material. An Hieroglyphic, or Image, which represents God in one respect, must be infinitely defective in many other. The *Egyptians* Analogically represented the great Deity of the World, by the Hieroglyphic of an Eye, to signifie his All-seeing Providence. But alas! the Eye seeth, but doth not fore-see. It is the Mind that is provident, not the Eye: And then where is the Power, and Justice, and Mercy of God represented by that Emblem? *If all were an Eye, where is the Body?* saith the Apostle. And if an Eye shall be the Image of God, where is the Hand of Power, and the Scepter of Government, and the Scale of Justice, and Thunderbolt of his Wrath? Put all the Emblems in the world together, and they shall represent God, as a shadow doth the Sun. God hath clearly reveal'd himself to us in his Holy Word, and you have drawn a veil upon him by your Dysanalogical Images, and Pictures: you take from the People the Holy Scriptures, and teach them by Pictures, according to that memorable Saying of a Pope, *Pictures are Lay-mens Books. But God is a Spirit*, saith our Blessed Savior, *and Men must worship him in Spirit and in Truth*, Joh. 4. 24. And to! by your Pictures of God, you determine the Worship and the Imagination of deluded People, to the shadow and representation of a Body. And because Man is the most excellent

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of all bodily and viſible Creatures, you have favor'd God with an human ſhape; whereas the Heathen, vile wretches! worſhip him under the ſhape of an Ox that eateth graſs.

Phil. If God was pleaſed to manifeſt himſelf in an human ſhape (as you have heard:) Why may not we repreſent him ſo to the People.

Theoph. Firſt, there is a great miſtake in thoſe Apparitions of God in the Old Teſtament; you make uſe of them to repreſent God the Father in a human ſhape, whereas the Fathers generally hold, that God the Son aſſumed thoſe appearances, and therefore they call'd them, *Præludia Incarnationis*, the Prologues of his future Incarnation; and ſo they cannot warrant your Picturing of God the Father. But to come more cloſe to our preſent purpoſe, ſuch Viſions of God which we read of, were tranſient, cited only to the preſent purpoſe: as in that of *Daniel*, concerning the *ancient of days*, it repreſented Gods dreadful coming to Judgment; as you may read at large the 9th Chapter. Now you would make a ſtanding Repreſentation of God thereby, to all ends and purpoſes whatſoever. And again, when the Prophet had his Viſion, it was alſo revealed to him what it ſignified; otherwiſe, *an old Man with white garments, and the hair of his head like wool*, could not have repreſented God to the Prophet. It was no Image that did bear any Analogy or Reſemblance of the Divine Nature, or of any Perſon of the Trinity, and therefore cannot be made uſe of by it ſelf to repreſent God. [a] *Durandus*, a great School-man, tells us, *Such Forms wherein God appeared in the Old Teſtament, were not aſſumed into one Perſon with the Divine Nature, as was the Humane Nature of Chriſt; and when the preſent deſign was over, they were laid aſide, as we put off our clothes.* And you may as well make a ſuit of Clothes the Image of a Man, as theſe Forms the Image of God. Suppoſe any Man ſhould converſe with you a day or an hour under a Vizar, would he like it, if you ſhould take his Picture, and the ſtanding copy of his countenance from the Vizar? When the Holy Scriptures mention the Eye of the Lord, and the Mouth of the Lord, his right Hand, and his Holy Arm; will you take theſe parts, and ſet them together, and make the Image of a Man to repreſent God, and bring theſe Autorities of Scripture for your warrant? This is a ready way to make our People *Anthropomorphites*; to create in them an Imagination, that God conſiſts of Parts and Members as a Man; and that his Image, after which God made Man, was imprinted in the Body. In the Catechizing of Youth, we find it an hard work to take their minds off from ſuch conceits, notwithſtanding all the help of Holy Scriptures, which expreſly declare, *That God is a Spirit, and not fleſh; inviſible, and not a Body.* When we tell them, that in ſuch Expreſſions of Gods Eye, and Hand, and Mouth, &c. the Holy Ghoſt deſcends to our capacity, and ſpeaks of God after the manner of Men: That he ſeeth all things with-

[a] 3. *Diſt.* 9. *Qu.* 2.

out Eyes, he maketh all things without hands; for he ſpake the word, and all things were made: and yet the Heavens are call'd his handy-work, and ſo the whole Creation, becauſe Man performeth ſeveral Operations by ſeveral Organs of the Body, therefore, for our better apprehenſion, theſe Members figuratively, and by a Trope, are aſcribed to God, altho he worketh all things by himſelf, by the Almighty Power of his will and pleaſure. Now when we labor to explain theſe things unto the People, they hardly ſink into their hearts, to take them off from terrene Cogitations of God; and much more would they be confirm'd in ſuch low conceits of the Divine Nature, if they ſhould conſtantly behold God pict*u*r'd, and worſhip him under an humane ſhape.

Phil. For no other end do we repreſent God under an humane ſhape, but to deſcend unto vulgar capacities; and our Prieſts can inſtruct them, as well as you, that God is an inviſible Spirit.

Theoph. Such Images which you make of God, are not Tropes and Figures to repreſent him to the minds of Men, but real Repreſentations to the Eye; and ſo are apt, in undiſcerning Perſons, to improve the imagination, that God is like unto us in our Earthly Members: and for this cauſe, among others, he hath forbid ſuch Images, and you tranſgreſs the Commandment of God, and endanger the Souls of deluded People, in making and expreſſing ſuch Pict*u*res unto public view and adoration. And it is worthy Obſervation, That altho God would borrow a viſible ſhape to appear unto a diſcerning Patriarch and a Prophet, yet he would not do ſo when he would manifeſt his preſence to the whole Congregation of *Iſrael*, he deſcended upon Mount *Sinai* in a Cloud, in the voice of Thunder: and he expreſly makes the Obſervation to the People, when he prohibited any likeneſs of God to be made, *Take ye therefore good heed unto your ſelves, for ye ſaw no manner of ſimilitude, on the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb, *out of the midſt of the Fire*, Deut. 4. 15.

Phil. Your worthy Obſervations muſt not think to carry the cauſe againſt the Traditions and Determinations of the Church.

Theoph. I do not expect they ſhould, when the Commands of God do little move you: However, to keep others out of the ſnare, we will not ſpare to repreſent the ill effects of your pict*u*ring God, when you uſually draw the Image of the Trinity after this manner, An old reverend Man, with a little Youth, and a Dove to repreſent the Holy Ghoſt: here you conceive you have given us the three Perſons, but where is the one Subſtance? the one only true God? Theſe Images neceſſarily repreſent a diverſity of Natures and of Subſtance, as well as a diſtinction of Perſons. And when you make God the Father ancient, and God the Son as an youth, you ſenſibly confirm the Doctrine of [a] *Arrius*, who maintain'd, *That Chriſt the Son of God was yonger then his Father, and that there was a*

[a] Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.

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time when the Son of God was not. And therefore *Abulensis* [a] peremtorily determins against making Images of God, or of the Holy Trinity, as being Inducements of Error, and with the danger of Idolatry and Heresie of attributing unto God corporeity, and an essential distinction of Persons in the God-head: *And altho,* saith he, *the Church hath received such Images, or dissembled them, yet they do not signifie aright.* And suitably hereunto, we read how Pope *John* the 22[d]. declar'd some for Heretics and Anthropomorphites, and burn'd others in the confines of *Bohemia* and *Austria*, because they made use of such Tables to represent the Holy Trinity under the Pictures of an old Man, a Youth, and a Dove. And now I will bring the approved Testimony of the Antients against representing God by any Picture. [c] *Augustin* saith, *We believe Christ sets at the right hand of his Father; not that God is circumscrib'd with an humane form, or sits with his knees bended, &c. least we should fall under that Sacriledge for which the Apostle accursed those who chang'd the Glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of a corruptible Man. It is wickedness to set up such an Image in a Christian Temple.* [d] Another Father tells us, *We have no visible Image of a visible Matter, but an intellectual of a Spiritual Substance: God is no sensible Spectacle.* [e] Again, *Moses put no Statue or Image of God in the Tabernacle, intimating, that God is a Majesty invisible and incircumscrib'd.* [f] In the same Book he shews, how *Moses was expresly commanded not to make any graven Images, or likeness of God; that we might not look on things visible, but intelligible, for the easiness of beholding him, vilifies the Majesty of God; and to worship the intelligible Substance by a material Object, is to dishonor God by our sight.* It was the general great design of the Holy Fathers, to take Men off from material and sensible Cogitations, when they apply their hearts to God, to know him, and to worship him. [g] *Theodoret* shews, how God doth manifestly teach us that nothing visible can be liken'd to him: *And he forbids all Men,* saith he, *to make any Image of things visible, so as to conceive it may become an Image or Statue of the invisible God.* Nay, the second Council of *Nice*, which first establish'd the honor and worship of Images of Christ and of the Saints, yet expresly declares against any Image of God. [h] *John*, Bishop of *Thessalonica*, saith, *We make the Image of Christ as Man, not as we believe him to be God by nature: for what likeness or Figure can there be of him, who is incorporeal and interminable.* [i] *Gregory*, the second Pope of that name, in his first Epi-

[a] *Cap. 4. Deut. qu 5. Erroris inductivæ sunt, cum periculo Idolatriæ & Heresis, &c.*

[b] *Aventinus Annalium Priorum, lib. 7 pag. 601.*

[c] *De fide & symbolo, cap. 7. Credimus quod sedet ad dextrum Dei patris, &c.*

[d] *Clemens Alexand. Pro treptico ad Gentes.* Ἡμῖν οὐκ ὕλης αἰσθητῆς, &c.

[e] Στρωμάτων, *Lib. 5.* Μωϋσῆς ἀφίδρυμα οὐδὲν, &c.

[f] Διαῤῥήδην ἐνεμόθησε μὴ δεῖν γλυπτόν, &c.

[g] 2[a] *Therapeut.* Διδάσκει σαφῶς ὡς οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ, &c.

[h] *Act. 5.* Οὐκ ὡς νοεῖται φύσει Θεὸς, ποῖα γὰρ, &c.

[i] *Bin. Tom. 5.* Διὰ τί τὸν Θεὸν οὐκ ἱστοροῦμεν, &c.

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ſtle to *Leo Iſaurus* the Emperor, ſaith, *Why do we not make the Father viſible in Picture? becauſe we know him not: and it is impoſſible to repreſent in Picture the nature of God.* [a] And *Damaſcen*, a great favorer of Images, ſpeaks full to this point, *What repreſentation can be made of God, who is incorporeal, uncircumſcrib'd, inviſible, and interminable.* And he concludes, *It is extream folly and impiety to figure God.* You ſee how poſitive they are againſt any Picture of God.

Phil. *Bellarmine* takes notice of many of theſe Autorities and Arguments, and ſhews how they are ſpoken of an Image of God, which ſhould repreſent his Eſſence; and he grants that to be impoſſible.

Theoph. In every Controverſie he hath a Catholic Diſtinction to help him at a loſs; as I have obſerv'd before: We cannot picture God eſſentially, ſaith he; no nor Man, nor any thing in the World, ſay I. A Picture gives only the outward Lineaments and Features: but theſe Autorities which I have urg'd, ſay, There can be no Image, not of his Eſſence, but of an inviſible God; no Lineaments of him who is Infinite: It is extreme folly and madneſs to attemt it. Nay, *Bellarmin* himſelf acknowledgeth, that divers School-men are againſt making an Image of God; but he will be of the right ſide: He reſolv'd to be a Cardinal againſt the rule of his Order, and ſo he will maintain Opinions to pleaſe his Party, againſt the rule of Scripture: and we may believe, of his own Conſcience, what the Court of *Rome* doth countenance, he muſt defend; otherwiſe, againſt ſuch evidence of Scripture and Reaſon, and the Teſtimony of the Fathers, he would never have aſſerted the lawfulneſs of making a viſible Image of the inviſible God, ſo to inſtruct the unwary People to become Idolaters and Heretics, as one of his own Doctors hath ſufficiently obſerv'd [b]. And ſo I leave this deteſtable Point of making a Picture and Image of God.

Phil. You obſerve this is not ſo generally defended by our Doctors, and therefore you ought not ſo ſeverely to lay it to our charge.

Theoph. Why doth not your Church forbid it, but rather diſſemble it, as *Abulenſis* expreſſeth it? If we muſt not ſay ſhe doth with full approbation receive this abominable practice, yet in moſt Cathedral Churches we ſhall find ſuch Repreſentations of the Holy Trinity, and Pictures of God the Father in an human ſhape, and of the Holy Ghoſt in the ſhape of a Dove: We call for a Reformation of theſe groſs Errors, but you lend a deaf Ear, being given over unto ſtrong Deluſions; and have found doubty Doctors, and ſworn Champions of your Church to defend the practice.

Phil. You ſhould not be ſo ſevere in a diſputable Caſe.

Theoph. Who made it diſputable, when the Holy Scriptures and Holy Fathers condemn it? In proceſs of time, an Antichriſtian Generation may put it to the Vote and Queſtion, whether there be a God; and we, forſooth, muſt uſe moderation in a diſputable caſe.

[a] *Orth. fidei lib.* 4. *c.* 17. Τὸ ἀόρατον, ἀσώματον, &c.

[b] *Abulenſis, ut ſupra.* *Phil.*

Phil. All this hath been a kind of digreſſion, to load us with the greater envy. Have you any thing to object againſt the Images of Chriſt, and of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of the Saints to be receiv'd with honor and due veneration? there lies the knot and difficulty between us: Councils and Popes have avowed that practice, and your Doctors, with great impudence, declaim againſt it.

Theoph. I can produce an ancient [a] Canon of the *Eliberitan* Council in *Spain*, forbidding Images in Churches, *It pleaſeth us, That Pictures ſhould not be in Churches, leaſt that which is Worſhip'd and Ador'd, be painted on the wall.*

Phil. This Canon may reſpect the Pictures of God, and not of the Saints, and you have diſmiſt that Point.

Theoph. Your Church, however, is to blame to tranſgreſs this Canon, in admitting Images of God and of the Trinity: But ſeeing you allow Worſhip and Adoration to the Images of Chriſt and of the Saints, the reaſon given in the Canon reacheth them alſo. The Fathers would not have that which is worſhip'd, pictur'd on the Wall.

Phil. You will find other Anſwers given to that Canon, That it prohibited Images in the Church, becauſe then the People were newly wean'd from Idolatry, and might be apt to return: For the Council was held under Pope *Marcellus*, *Anno* 305. and withal the Heathen, among whom they liv'd, might ſuppoſe Chriſtians did worſhip Idols, like themſelves, whilſt they condemn'd them; and there was danger leaſt the Gentiles ſhould break in upon them, and do deſpite unto the Images of Chriſt and the Saints.

Theoph. The Reaſon given in the Canon, confutes theſe Anſwers, and manifeſts them to be but ſhifts: That which is worſhip'd muſt not be pictur'd.

Phil. [b] *Bellarmin* having reckon'd others, chiefly approves this Anſwer: The Canon forbids Images upon the Walls, leaſt they ſhould be defil'd and ſtain'd with the moiſtneſs and mouldring of the Wall: but Pictures in Arras or Tables are not forbid, as not being ſo liable to ſuch Inconveniencies.

Theoph. He will ſay ſomwhat, tho to little purpoſe; ſuch a ridiculous Anſwer deſerves no Conſideration.

Phil. But withal, he ſhews how the *Eliberitan* Council conſiſted but of 19 Biſhops: And what are they, if compar'd with ſuch General Councils which afterwards eſtabliſh'd Images?

Theoph. This is like himſelf, when any thing makes againſt him, to ſlight it: But this Council was alwaies held in great eſteem, for the Antiquity and Piety thereof. *Hoſius* preſided therein, and the other Biſhops were moſt of them Confeſſors, and at that time aſſembled, with

[a] *Bin. Tom. 1. Concilii Eliberat. c. 36. Placuit picturas in Eccleſia eſſe non debere, ne id quod colitur & Adoratur, in pariete depingatur.*

[b] *De Im. l. 2. c. 9.*

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the hazard of their lives, to give Rules and Directions to the People of God. And in those days Bishops were not so numerous; the World being not subdued to Christianity. And lastly, *Binius* acknowledgeth there were six and thirty Presbyters in the Council, besides the Bishops.

Phil. Once more: *Bellarmin* shews, That Council did incline to *Novatianism*, denying Reconciliation unto the Church, even at their deaths, unto some Offenders, as appears in the three first Canons of that Council; whereas about 20 years after, the great Council of *Nice*, in the 13th Canon, Decreed the contrary: [a] *We determin in general, That any one departing this life, and desiring to receive the Eucharist, the Bishop, upon examination, shall give it him.*

Theoph. *Bellarmin* doubtless was not ignorant, That Pope *Innocent* the first had vindicated the *Eliberitan* Council from this imputation of *Novatianism*, and reconcil'd the difference of the Canons, by the times wherein they were made. [b] *In those persecuting Times, the Fathers of the Eliberitan Council were more severe, least the easiness of Reconciliation to the Church should encourage some to Apostatize; they Decreed, That such as did fall off, should not be admitted to the Eucharist, even at their deaths. But when Constantine restored Peace to the Church, and Persecution ceas'd, the Council of Nice releas'd the former Canon, and Decreed, The Communion should be given to such as desired it upon their death beds.* Now *Bellarmin's* brother Cardinal, [c] *Baronius*, taking into consideration this Justification of the *Eliberitan* Council by Pope *Innocent*, makes acknowledgment, *That he spoken too freely against this Council in his Annals before; and Declares, That there could be no suspicion of* Novatianism *in that Council.*

Phil. [d] *Baronius* suspects this Canon against Pictures, may be suppositious put in among the rest by some, who had ill will to Images, in after times: *Because*, saith he, *the Image-breakers take no notice of this Canon in their defence.*

Theop. This is their constant practice, to suspect all that makes against them: They have accustomed themselves much of late, to the corrupting of Fathers and Councils, and would have us believe, they have learn'd that Art from the Primitive Times. And withal, you may observe *Baronius's* cheat upon his Reader. In the year 570. he much labors to undermine the Autority of this Council, as being but a particular Council, of few Bishops, given to *Novatianism*; and for this Canons sake, against Images all this indignation, and therefore the Canon must be thought suppositious. Now when he hath prepossest his Reader with these prejudices against this Council, long after, in the year 305. as you have heard, he recants, acknowledging he had spoke too freely against it,

[a] *Bin. Tom.* 1. Καθόλου περὶ παντὸς ἀποστάτου, &c.
[b] *Innocent. Epist.* 1. c. 2. *Cum illis temporibus crebræ essent persecut.* &c.
[c] *Annal. Tom. Anno* 305. *Fatetur se paulo liberius de hoc Concil. locutum*, &c.
[d] *Baron. Tom.* 1. *Anno Christi*, 57.

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and that Pope *Innocent* had acquitted the Council of *Novatianism*, &c. Do you not believe the Learned Cardinal knew as much of this Concern when he wrote his first censure of the Council, as when he cries *peccavi*; only he was willing to undervalue the Council in the first place, and might presume many of his Readers might never go so far as to read this his Recantation. But to proceed in Church History, concerning Pictures of the Saints in Churches, we have a notable passage of *Epiphanius*, a Learned Bishop in *Cyprus*, who going towards *Bethel* with *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in the way he turn'd into a Church, in a Village call'd *Anablatha*, to Pray: And seeing there a piece of hanging before the door of the Church, painted, and having the Image of Christ in it, or some Saint, (for afterwards, in his Letter to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, he saith, *That he did not well remember whose Picture it was*) he cut the hanging and Picture into pieces, and wish'd the Keeper of the Church to wrap some dead Body in it, and bury it: When some of the Village standing by, expostulated with him for the Fact, and said, That however he should buy another piece of hanging before the door; he promis'd to do so, and sent it afterwards to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to be put up instead of the other. Now in this Letter to the Bishop, who had Jurisdiction in that place, he gives a reason of his action: [a] *When I saw in the Church of Christ, against the Autority of Holy Scripture, the Image of a Man set up, I cut it in pieces.* And in the close of his Letter, he adviseth the Bishop, to command, *That such hangings should not be admitted into the Church, which are against our Religion, that so he might take away all scandal, and scruple*, &c.

Phil. Many Answers you will find given to this memorable Passage.

Theoph. Yes, it hath troubled all your Doctors; and they mightily labor to undermine the Testimony: but if you have any thing considerable to say, let us hear it.

Phil. [b] *Damascen* answers thus, *That which is rare and single, gives no Law to the Church, and one Swallow makes no Summer; nor is one Mans judgment able to overthrow the Tradition of the Catholic Church thro-out the World:* Where you may take notice, how he declares the Tradition of the Church thro-out the World for Images.

Theoph. *Damascen* was a great Proctor for Image worship; for which Zeal, *Leo Isaurus* put out his Eyes; and we shall hereafter try how his Catholic Tradition can be made good. However, you find he acknowledgeth the Fact of *Epiphanius*, who was a Learned Orthodox Bishop of the Primitive Church; and his Zeal was so great against Pictures in Churches, That in anothers Dioceſs he took upon him to reform.

[a] *Hierom. Tom 2. Epist. Epiphan. ad Joannem Episc. Hieros. cum vidissem in Ecclesia Christi contra Script. Autorit. hominis*, &c.

[b] Οὐτὲ σπάνιον νόμος τὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c.

Phil. Some conceive it was no Picture of Christ, or any Saint, but of an Heathen, for *Epiphanius* ſpeaks doubtfully; a Picture, * as ſuppoſe of Chriſt or ſome Saint.

Theoph. You catch at every Reed in a ſinking cauſe. *Epiphanius*, in his Letter to the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, ſaith, *Hee had forgot whoſe Picture it was; but it may be of Chriſt, or ſome other Saint*; which he could not ſay, had it bin the Image of ſome prophane Perſon, and that had bin the reaſon of his zeal and indignation againſt the Picture.

Phil. Many others, with *Bellarmin*, ſuſpect this relation to be added to *Epiphanius* his Epiſtle in the cloſe (for there it is a Poſtſcript) by ſome ill affected to Images; and urge Reaſons, firſt, out of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, the ſixth Seſſion, where *Epiphanius* a Deacon and Repreſentative, or Vicar of the Arch-Biſhop of *Sardinia*, in that Council undertakes to anſwer and confute the Definition of the Council of *Conſtantinople* againſt Images; and ſhews, that other Paſſages were falſly intitled to *Epiphanius*, even an whole Book againſt Images: That *Epiphanius*, in his 80 Hereſies which he publiſh'd, includes not the Hereſie of making and worſhipping Images; which doubtleſs he would have done, * if he had thought it contrary to the rule of Chriſt. That *Epiphanius* his Diſciples, after his deceaſe, erected a Temple in honor to him, and ſet up his Image therein; which they would not have done, had they known his judgment to be againſt Images.

Theoph. This is the uſual knack, to ſuſpect what doth not pleaſe; but moſt of your Doctors acknowledg the Fact, as you have heard of *Damaſcen*; and *Alphonſus de Caſtro* reckons *Epiphanius* among the Image-breakers. As for the Deacons aſſerting many paſſages of *Epiphanius* to be ſuppoſitious, we have no reaſon to take his word, unleſs his Reaſons carry it, and they are too weak to bear the burthen of his charge; for *Epiphanius*, in 79th Hereſie, doth expreſly ſpeak againſt the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, as againſt her worſhip. And in truth, he ſpeaks againſt Images in general: [b] *The Divel creeping into the minds of Men, under a righteous pretence, ſets before their eyes the Image of Men, whom being dead, they worſhip; and their Images had never life, and yet are worſhip'd likewiſe by adulterate minds, withdrawn from the one only true God.* If the Story be true, that *Epiphanius* his Diſciples did ſet up his Image in a Temple, which they built and dedicated to his honor; we anſwer, It is no new thing for Diſciples to ſwerve from their Maſters Principles and Practice. The Deacons Arguments therefore do not prove this, and the other paſſages of *Epiphanius* againſt Images to be forg'd.

Phil. *Bellarmin* hath one or two Obſervations more, to make this paſſage of *Epiphanius* ſuſpected of cutting the Picture: *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *the Adverſaries of Images do not mention it.*

* *Quaſi Chriſti, aut Sancti cujuſdam.*

[a] Ἐι τὴν εἰκόνων ποίησιν, &c.

[b] Προφάσει δ δικαίᾳ ὑπεισδύνων τὴν διάνοιαν, &c.

Theoph.

Theoph. I suppose he means the Bishops in the *Constantinople* Council against Images: Now they having cited other passages against Images out of *Epiphanius*, [a] declare expressly, *That they had not brought all his Testimonies, but left them to the diligent inquiry of the Learned.*

Phil. *Bellarmin* cites [b] *Gregory the Great*, asserting, *That* Serenus *was the first Bishop who brake the Images of Christ and the Saints*: and therefore *Epiphanius* did not so before him.

Theoph. The Pope was not Infallible, and perhaps might not read this passage of *Epiphanius*. As this Orthodox Bishop shewed his zeal against Pictures, so about the same time a pious Emperor, *Theodosius*, by an Edict, did forbid even the Image of Christ, [c] *Having a studious care in all things to defend the Religion of the most high God, we permit none to carve or paint any Image of our Savior Christ in colours, stone, or any other matter, and command such Pictures to be taken away wheresoever they are found, resolving severely to punish all such as do contrary to our command.* And so we are led unto another Instance of *Serenus* Bishop of *Marseils*, who brake down all the Images and Pictures in Churches thro-out his Diocess, about the year 600. when *Gregory the Great* was Pope; who writes an Epistle to *Serenus*, reprehending the Fact, as proceeding from inconsiderat zeal: [d] And whereas the Bishop made his Plea, That he remov'd them out of Churches, and brake the Images, because the People were prone to worship them: That he forbid the worship of them, the Pope approves, for it is written, saith he, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* And at length he gives this advice, [e] *If any desires to make, or to have an Image, forbid him not: But by all means take care that no man worship them.*

Phil. This Testimony of *Gregory*, approves the Images of the Saints for History and Ornament, altho he forbids the worship of them; and we are not yet come to that point. Your Instances from the *Eliberitan* Canon from *Epiphanius* and *Serenus*, are against the Images themselves, not their worship.

Theoph. Those Holy Bishops were offended with Pictures in Churches, because they might be occasion of Idolatry, the People inclining to give Religious worship to them; as *Serenus* made his Plea.

Phil. Notwithstanding such panic fears, you know, as *Bellarmin* shews, *God placed the Cherubins in the Ark.*

[a] *Conc. Nic. 2. Act. 6.* Ὃς καὶ ἑτέρους λόγους, &c.

[b] *Epistolarum l. 9. Epistola nona. Nullum Episcoporum ante Serenum fregisse Imag. Christi aut Sanctorum.*

[c] *Petrus Crinitus, de honestâ disciplinâ, lib. 9. cap. 9. Cum sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus supremi numinis religionem tueri, signum salvatoris nostri Christi nemini concedimus pingere, sed quodcunque reperitur tolli jubemus.*

[d] *Epistolarum l. 9. Epist. nona. Quod inconsiderato zelo succensus Sanctorum Imagines confregeris.*

[e] *Si quis Imag. facere voluerit, minime prohibe, &c.*

Theoph. *In the inward Tabernacle, over the Mercy-ſeat,* where they were not expos'd to public view.

Phil. [a] *Tertullian* ſhews, they had Pictures in the Church early: *Let the Pictures,* ſaith he, *engraven in your Chalices be produc'd.* Again, *The good Shepheard whom you Picture in your Chalice.* He relates to the good Shepheard, bringing back the loſt Sheep upon his ſhoulders, which Parable was engraven upon the Euchariſtical Cup.

Theoph. Theſe are pitiful proofs for Images in Churches, and their Worſhip, a Parable engraven upon a Goblet, not viſible, at any diſtance, unto the People, ſo as to become the object of Adoration.

Phil. There is an account given by *Nicephorus, Simeon Metaphraſtes,* and others, how our Bleſſed Savior ſent the Picture of his Face in a Linnen cloth, to *Agabarus* King of *Edeſſa*; who, hearing of our Savior and his Miracles, ſent a Painter to take his Picture; but his Eyes were dazzled with the Glory of our Saviors Countenance, and his Art fail'd him: Whereupon, our Savior calls for a Napkin, and wip'd his Face, and left his Picture therein, to be convey'd to the King; and thereby Miracles were wrought.

Theoph. We may conclude this to be a Fable, as from the Fabulous Authors: ſo likewiſe, becauſe [b] *Euſebius* makes no mention thereof; and yet gives an account, how this King of *Edeſſa* did ſend a Letter to our Savior, intreating him to come and heal him of his Diſeaſe: and that our Savior return'd an Anſwer.

Phil. But the ſame *Euſebius, lib.* 7. *c.* 18. ſpeaking of the City *Paneas* of *Cæſarea Philippi,* mentions a report, That the Woman of the Goſpel who was cured of her Bloody Iſſue, was honorable and rich in that City; and in memory of that Cure, caus'd her own Image to be made in Braſs, kneeling towards another Statue of a Man in Braſs, ſtretching forth his hand to touch her: And at the pedeſtal of the Statue there did ſpring up an Herb, which ariſing unto the hem of the Coat engraven, had virtue to heal Diſeaſes; and this Image was, by all the Inhabitants, reported to be the Statue of Chriſt. And *Euſebius* gives credit to the Relation, ſhewing, it was the Cuſtom of the Heathen People, to honor with Statues thoſe whom they accounted Saviors: and tells us, himſelf had ſeen the Pictures of Chriſt, and of *Peter,* and *Paul.*

Theoph. You may obſerve, he ſaith, It was the cuſtom of the Heathen to honor ſo their Benefactors: and therefore Chriſtians derive this practice from the Heathen.

Phil. But Divine Providence hath ſet his Seal unto it, in thoſe miraculous Cures which the Herb wrought, that grew at the foot of Chriſts Statue. And *Sozomen* relates farther, *lib.* 5. *c.* 20. *That the Apoſtate* Ju-

[a] *Lib. de Pudicitia, c.* 7. 10. *Procedant ipſæ Picturæ Calicum veſtrarum. Ib. Paſtor quem in Calice depingis.*

[b] *Euſeb. l.* 1. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Prope finem.*

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lian *in ſcorn took down this Statue, and in the place ſet up his own, which was ſtruck with Lightning from Heaven, and broke into many pieces.*

Theoph. Theſe things came to paſs by a ſpecial Providence; not to juſtifie the making of Chriſts Statue, but in the ſight of the Heathen to atteſt the Truth of thoſe great Things, which Fame had delivered of Chriſt whom they knew that Statue repreſented: And to vindicate that Affront the Apoſtate *Julian* deſign'd to put upon our Savior.

Phil. We find, they had the Pictures of Chriſt and the Apoſtles very frequent in St *Auguſtins* time: For ſome Enemies of the Goſpel entitled Magic Books unto our Savior, as by him written to his principal Diſciples, *Peter* and *Paul*. Now *Auguſtin* obſerves, how *Paul* was no Diſciple of Chriſt in the days of his Fleſh, and ſo the Impoſture was eaſily diſcover'd: But becauſe, ſaith he, they had often ſeen the Picture of Chriſt, and of theſe two chief Apoſtles drawn together, they concluded them to have bin his moſt beloved Diſciples, and ſo were induc'd to bring in Chriſt as communicating his Secrets and Myſteries of the Art of Magic to them.

Theoph. Bellarmin ſhould have given you St *Auguſtins* obſervation upon this paſſage: [a] *So altogether they deſerv'd to be miſtaken and err, who look upon Chriſt and his Apoſtles on painted Walls, and not in the Holy Scriptures; and it is no wonder to ſee ſuch as are Forgers to be deceived by Painters.*

Phil. The ſecond Council of *Nice*, as *Bellarmin* ſhews, brings many other Teſtimonies of the Fathers occaſionally in their Books, making mention of the Pictures of Chriſt, and of the Saints uſual in their times.

Theoph. In the ſeries of Diſcourſe you have led us unto that Council, and I ſhall chuſe to accept your Appeal, and thither we will go. But firſt, I will prepare the way, and let you know, That we do not declare againſt Images in themſelves, but as they are occaſions of Superſtitious Worſhip. Men prize ancient Pieces, repreſenting Famous Men: Suppoſe *Julius Ceſar*, or *Tully*, or the Anceſtors of their Family; and much more ſhould we value Pictures of Holy Men and Women, or of our Bleſſed Savior: But you muſt then ſhew they be true Reſemblances and Copies, of their Countenance, Pictures very like them whom they repreſent; whereas now in the Images of the Saints there is no regard had to their likeneſs, but only to ſet up an Image that ſhall ſignifie, and not repreſent. An old Man with a Sword, ſtands for *Paul*; with Keys, for *Peter*; with a Croſs decuſſat, for *Andrew*: ſo in our Saviors Pictures you ſhall obſerve as many Forms as there are Faces or Fancies of Men. If a Painter, deſigning to draw our Ladies Picture, ſhould take a Beautiful Courtizan for his pattern, it would ſerve. Now ſuch Pictures,

[a] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 10. *De conſ. Evangeliſt. ſic omnino errare meruerunt qui Chriſtum & Apoſtolos non in Sacris Codicibus, &c.*

which

which have no likeneſs to the perſons repreſented, deſerve no regard, neither are they uſeful for Commemoration. Should any one ſend you your Grand-fathers Picture, much unlike him, and drawn at all adventures, you would not honor it ſo much, as to hang it up in your Hall or Parlor? But you and I both have been led out of the way, by thoſe who write upon this ſubject of Images; inſtancing in ſome who have altogether rejected them, and in others who have approved them, whereas our chief Deſign is, to ſhew the unlawfulneſs of Image Worſhip, to allow no other uſe of Pictures, then to put us in mind either of Things or Perſons, or for ornament of places: If you are content herewith, the diſpute ſhall end between us, always excepting againſt any Image of God, whether Hiſtorical or Analogical, or by what term ſoever you may diſtinguiſh.

Phil. If you ſee the Picture of Chriſt, will you not worſhip him?

Theoph. When by occaſion of his Picture I am put in mind of my Savior, my heart muſt honor and worſhip him, as at any other time when I apply my ſelf unto him in Meditation, without a Picture to help the memory: But we allow no Worſhip or Adoration due unto the Image it ſelf, putting us in mind of our Savior: you have high reaſon to yield all civil honor and obeiſance to your Prince; but will you bow the Knee, or put of your Hat unto his Image in your Coin, or to his Picture in your Cloſet?

Phil. Let me ask you alſo one Queſtion: If any ſhould ſtab the Image of the King, or of your Anceſtors, and ſhew great indignation againſt them, would you not be highly offended?

Theoph. If the Circumſtances declare that he did it out of deſpight and malice to the perſon repreſented by the Picture, there is reaſon to take it as an high affront.

Phil. By inſenſible degrees, I ſhall bring you to acknowledge as much as we deſire: If you ſhould ſee any Man give honor and reſpect unto the Princes Picture for his ſake, would you not approve it?

Theoph. Yes, giving ſuch regard as a pious Prince expects from us; not to put a ſtudied affront upon it; not to ſet it up in a contemtible place: we likewiſe ſhew a dutiful affection in highly valuing the Picture that reſembles the King.

Phil. Why ſhould you except againſt honor and reſpect given to an Image of your Savior, or of his bleſſed Mother and the Saints?

Theoph. We do not ſet aſide the Religious Worſhip of any Image which may lawfully be made; and we will not except againſt any reſpect you will give to it, for his ſake whom it repreſents: you muſt prove it lawful to worſhip Images.

Phil. To a Prince civil Worſhip and Honor is due; and ſo much you give likewiſe to his Picture: by the ſame rule, ſeeing unto Chriſt as Man, in union with the Divine Nature, is due Religious Worſhip and Adoration, you muſt give Religious Worſhip to his Image.

Theoph.

Theoph. We never ſaid, the ſame honor is due to the Picture of a Prince, as to his Perſon: Do you all ſtand bare in the Parlor, becauſe your Princes Picture hangs there, or the Pictures of any of his Predeceſſors? And ſecondly, from a civil Worſhip given unto a Creature, to a Religious Worſhip given unto a Creature, there is no conſequence to be drawn; and the reaſon is this, God hath forbid one, and not the other. Now the Pictures of Chriſt, and of his Croſs, and of the Saints, are Creatures, even the work of Mens hands, and therefore to them no Religious Worſhip to be given.

Phil. There is a receiv'd Maxim in the Church, firſt taken from *Baſil the Great*, [a] The honor done to the Image, paſſeth unto him whom it repreſents: and therefore honoring their Images, you honor Chriſt and his Saints.

Theoph. 'Tis truth, what reſpect is given to a Picture, is only with regard unto the thing or perſon repreſented by it, and therefore it is call'd relative Honor: We prize the Picture of a Friend, and much more of our Bleſſed Savior, and his Saints, if they be drawn to the Life: but however, to the Picture it ſelf, no adoration can in reaſon be given, and honor, becauſe it is far inferior to the meaneſt Man, who is the living Image of God; and a Picture (ſuppoſe of Chriſt) but an inanimate Image. [b] Now Honor is given to things more excellent: Will you ſay the Picture of a King excels in dignity the perſon of a Subject? or that a liveleſs Picture of our Bleſſed Savior, is more honorable then a living Diſciple of our Bleſſed Savior?

Phil. Not in it ſelf, but as it is the Image of Chriſt.

Theoph. I ſpeak of it as his Image; and yet I do ſuppoſe, you dare not maintain, That the Picture of Chriſt in the conſideration, as his Picture, is more to be eſteemed then a Diſciple of Chriſt: for ſuppoſe one of them were to be deſtroi'd, Would you ſave the Picture, and leave the Man to periſh? Again, for worſhipping the Images of Saints, it may be of S[t] *Peter*; Is more honor to be given to his Image now, then was to his perſon in the days of his Fleſh? When *Cornelius* fell at his Feet, and worſhip'd him, he receiv'd it not, but ſaid, *Stand up, I my ſelf alſo am a Man*, Acts 10. 26, inſtructing him, that no ſuch worſhip was due to a Man.

Phil. He would not receive ſuch adoration as was due to God.

Theoph. Who told you, good *Cornelius*, a devout Man, intended ſuch worſhip as was due to God? Dare you ſay *Cornelius* in that act committed Idolatry, giving the worſhip due only to God, unto his Servant *Peter*? he only deſign'd to give to him ſuch high expreſſions of Honor and Worſhip, as to a Saint and Servant of God upon Earth; and yet *Peter* would not accept of it, and intimates, becauſe he was a Man he ought not. So we read, S[t] *John* fell down to Worſhip before the Feet of the Angel,

[a] *Vid. Damaſcen. Orthod. Fid. lib.* 4. *c.* 17. Ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ, *&c.*

[b] *Honor eſt agnitio præcellentis.*

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and the Angel ſaid, *See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-ſervant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them which keep the ſayings of this Book: worſhip God.* Now it is to be conceiv'd, *John* deſign'd not to commit Idolatry, and give Divine Worſhip to the Angel, but only ſome inferior Religious Worſhip, as your Doctors uſe to ſpeak; and yet the Angel would not receive it, being jealous of his Creators Honor, and directs the Apoſtle to worſhip God. Now if we muſt not worſhip Saints in their own Perſons, much leſs in their Images: If Angels will not accept worſhip from us, neither will the Saints Triumphant; both inſtruct us to worſhip God, and not them, altho we ſhould intend to give them only inferior worſhip.

Phil. The ſecond Council of *Nice*, being the ſeventh Oecumenical Council, hath well ſtated this Point, and eſtabliſh'd the Worſhip proper to God, call'd *Latria*, to be incommunicable to a Creature. But a ſecond ſort of inferior Worſhip and Adoration, they determin muſt be given to the Images of Chriſt and the Saints.

Theoph. I wiſh they had firſt ſatisfied you or me, why they ſhould determine inferior Worſhip and Adoration to be given to the Saints in Heaven, and to their Images on Earth, ſeeing the Angel expreſly forbids it, and directs us only to worſhip God: But ſeeing you have appeal'd to that Council of *Nice*, thither we will go, as being indeed the firſt Foundation of Image worſhip; and if you pleaſe, I will give you a preliminary account and hiſtory of that Council.

Phil. I pray do ſo: for it will ſuit with our preſent Diſcourſe, and ſhew the rankneſs of thoſe Enemies of Chriſt and his Saints, who brake down their Images, and caſt them out of Churches, as Heathen Idols, unto the Dung-hill; whil'ſt the holy Popes of *Rome* ſucceſſively wrote Epiſtles, and ſent Legats, and gave warning to the Emperors, whoſe Zeal without knowledge, gave countenance and autority to ſuch Sacrilegious Outrages.

Theoph. About the year of Chriſt, 720. *Leo Iſaurus*, the 69th Emperor of *Rome* from *Auguſtus*, obſerving the growth of Superſtition and Idolatry among the vulgar ſort of People, in worſhipping the Images of our Bleſſed Savior, and the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, which were erected in their Temples and in the Streets; he took a ſevere courſe, and brake down the Images, and commanded all that had ſuch Images and Pictures, under great penalties, to bring them forth, and burn'd them in the Market-place. He ſent likewiſe to *Gregory* the ſecond, Pope of *Rome*, to deſire his concurrence for a General Council of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops, about this work of Reformation: and in a ſacred Epiſtle to the Pope, he urg'd Arguments to juſtifie his courſe in taking away Images. Whereunto the Pope returns an Anſwer, [a] That whereas he had received from him many ſacred Letters, within the firſt ten years of his Reign, full of Piety and Wiſdom; together with an Orthodox

[a] *Bin. Edit. Concil. Tom.* 5. *pag.* 501. Τὰ ὑρία τῶν πατέρων, &c.

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Confession of his Faith, denouncing a Curse upon those that should remove the Boundaries of Religion which the Fathers had set: and for this cause, he tells the Emperor, That he had given ample Thanks to God for committing the Empire of the World unto so noble a Prince. But now alas! from his Epistle, and from his practice, he sadly perceiv'd how he was taken from the Truth, and had given great scandal to the World. And so he sets himself to give satisfaction unto some Particulars which the Emperor had mention'd in his Letter; telling him beforehand, "That he would write to him dull and illiterate Things, because thou thy self (saith he) art such. And in truth, the Pope is as good as his word; for his Letter which he writes to the Emperor, is blunt and desultory, without any reason or consequence, or good manners. He saith, "That God did forbid Graven Images, such as the *Canaanites* made and worship'd; but he commanded *Moses* to make two Cherubins, a Table and an Ark; and these were similitudes made with hands for the glory of God. He tells him, That *Moses* prai'd and desired to see an Image of God, that he might not err; and the Lord answer'd, *That he could not see his face and live, but his back parts he should see*: but under the Gospel he hath shew'd himself back and face. That the Truth is made visible, and Christ hath appear'd and dwel'd among us, *and where the carcass was*, that is, Christ in the Body, *thither the Eagles came*: True Believers resorted to him, and took his Picture, and the Pictures of *James* the Brother of the Lord, and of *Stephen* the first Martyr; and so of all the Martyrs, and forsaking the worship of Idols, the whole World did worship these Images: not with the worship due only to God, but relatively; a Distinction form'd to puzzle, not to inform. After this, he tells him, how our Blessed Savior sent a Copy of his Countenance in a Napkin to the King of *Edessa*. 'Tis truth, saith he, we do not Picture God, because we know him not; but if we had beheld him, as we do his Son, we would have made his Picture also, and try whether you would call it an Idol. The love of Christ knows, saith he, That when I go into the Temple of *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, and look upon his Image, I am brought to compunction; and as Rain out of the Clouds, so do my Tears flow down. Then he tells the Emperor, *how Christ restored sight to the blind*; but you put out the Eies of the People by removing Images. You say, we worship Stones and Tables: not so, but our memories must be rubb'd up, and our dull, and foolish, and illiterate mind rais'd. When we see the Picture of Christ, we say, *Thou Son of God, save us*: so when we see the Picture of the Holy Mother, we say, *O holy Mother of God, Mother of the Lord, mediate unto thy Son to save our Souls*: and so to the other Saints and Martyrs. He bids the Emperor go into the Grammar-Schools, and tell the Boies, I am he

a Ἀνάγχη ἔχων γράψαι, &c.

b *Epist.* 1. *Greg. secund. ad Leonem Isaurum, Bin. Tom.* 5. Οὐχ εἰσὶ ταῦτα εἴδη καὶ ὁμοιώματα, &c.

who persecute and pull down Images, and see saith he, whether they will not hurl their Books at thy head. When the Emperor reflected upon that passage of *Hezekiah*, breaking in pieces the Brazen Serpent, because the People did burn Incense to it, 2 *Kings* 18. 4. How do you think he answers it?

Phil. I must confess, it was very apposite to his purpose, who pleaded the Peoples Superstition in worshipping Images, as the cause of his removing them: and therefore I desire to hear what satisfaction his Holiness the Pope gave unto that Objection.

Theoph. He tells the Emperor, [a] *Verily Ozias was thy Brother of like perswasions as thy self, and he plaid the Tyrant among his People as thou dost.* Where you also observe, how the Pope was so ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, that he ascribes that memorable passage of breaking the Brazen Serpent, to *Uzziah*, and not to *Hezekiah* the King: and in resembling the Emperor to *Hezekiah*, in the fact of breaking Images, he by a necessary consequence approves the one, as the Holy Ghost in Scripture doth the other, for his zeal for Reformation, and Gods Honor.

Phil. I did not expect such a precipitate Answer to so considerable an Argument.

Theoph. Give me leave to proceed: He tells the Emperor, and calls Christ to witness, "How highly affected he was with sight of the glorious Images, and Historical Pictures of the Holy Scriptures in the Churches; and that it had been much better if the Emperor had bin an Heretic (denying some fundamental Truth of the Gospel) then a Persecuter of Images: And gives his Reason, Because Heretics err'd through ignorance, and about things hard to be understood, whereas thou errest in such things as are as clear as the Sun, and therefore their Condemnation is not so great as thine. It appears in his Sacred Epistle, that the Emperor did write to the Pope concerning a General Council to determin the Controversie concerning Images.

Phil. That was the most likely way to settle the Truth, and the minds of Men.

Theoph. But the Pope answers, *No: You did write to me for a General Council, but it seems to me unprofitable.*

Phil. I pray what reason did he give of his denial.

Theoph. He tells the Emperor, *He consults his Honor, and that it were better for him not to have his crime publish'd: he was a destroier of Images, if he would give over and be quiet, the scandal would be taken away, and there would be no need of a Council.* He calls God to witness, how he had communicated the Emperors former sacred Epistles to the Princes of the West, and had much commended him for his Piety; and they all had him in great Honor: but as soon as they heard of this Fact of Image-breaking, they trampled his Lawrels under foot, and invaded some of his Territories in the West; had seis'd upon *Ravenna*, and threatned

[a] *Ib.* Ἀληθῶς Ὀζίας ἀδελφὸς σὸς ἦν, &c.

Rome

Rome it self, the Emperor being unable to protect them: [a] and all this through his own folly. Nay, saith he, you threaten to send to *Rome*, and break down the Image of *St. Peter*, and carry away the Pope in Bonds: but if you thus look big and threaten, I will not contend, but I will remove my self but 25 miles, and then I shall be out of your reach, and you may go and persecute the winds.

Phil. 'Tis much he had the courage to write so boldly to the Emperor, who had Dominions and Forces near in *Italy*.

Theoph. The subtle Pope knew his own strength: The *Lombards* kept their Interest in *Campania*, and other parts of *Italy*, in despight of the Emperors Forces; and altho they were many times very troublesom Neighbors to *Rome*, yet thither, upon case of necessity, he would flie. After the same manner he writes a second Letter unto the Emperor, among other things telling him: Altho thou dost persecute us with a Military hand of Flesh, yet we being destitute of carnal Weapons, do invoke the chief Captain of the Creation, Christ, sitting in the Heavens over all Power and Dominion, to send the Divel into thee, as the Apostle speaks, *To give such an one unto Satan*: and afterwards, he thundred out against him the Bull of Excommunication. And whereas the Emperor had demanded how it came to pass, That none of the six general Councils had Decreed any thing for the worship of Images, &c. what Answer, think you, gave the Pope to that demand?

Phil. I cannot guess; but it was a material Proposal.

Theoph. He answers it thus, True, O King! neither did any of those Councils make Decrees of eating Bread, and drinking Water, intimating, That it was as evidently necessary to worship Images, as to eat and drink, and therefore no matter for a Canon of a general Council. And withal he tells him, That the Patriarchs and Bishops carried Images before them, when they went into the Council; and none that did love Jesus Christ, would take a Journey without some Images of the Saints, as their Fellow-Travellers. Now these things, and many others, are urged by him without any offer of proof; and being not in his Pontifical Chair, it seems he was not infallible: neither was it likely such blind Stories, and fond Assertions, and foolish Letters, should prevail with a Prince of great Power and Reason; and therefore he continued his course of preventing Idolatry, by taking Images and Pictures out of the way, and so he had the Sir-name given him of Εἰκονόμαχος, one that did make war against Images. His Son *Constantin* follows him in the same severity, and the Monckish Historians of that time, had a nick-name also for him, *Constantinus Copronymus*: Because, say they, when being an Infant he was Baptized, he defiled the Sacred Font with his dung; and so gave an Omen of his future contempt and villanies against the Saints and the Church. But that was not the reason of the Appellative and Name, but rather because he much delighted in the smell of Horse-dung; the

[a] *Ib.* Ταῦτα ἀπὸ ἀνεικασίας, καὶ ἀφροσύνης, &c.

compound name being deriv'd from Κόπρος, which signifies dung, and ὄνομα, which is Interpreted, I am pleas'd; whereas perhaps the dull Monks thought it was deriv'd from Κόπρος and ὄνομα, which signifies, a Name. Now because they had in vain sought the concurrence of the Pope and the Western Bishops, in a general Council, *Constantinus* the Emperor summons a Council at *Constantinople*, *Anno* 754. where 318. Bishops assembled, and declared against Images and their worship, and stiled themselves, [a] *The holy and great general Council of* Constantinople. But we have no Record of the Actions of this Council, otherwise then we find the definition thereof mangled and confuted by parcels, in the Council of *Nice* succeeding. This being the unjust and partial dealing of the *Roman* Faction, through whose hands (since the desolation of the Eastern Church by the *Turks*) all Church History is transmitted, to deliver nothing to Posterity (as far as possibly they can stifle it) which makes against them. After *Constantine*, did succeed *Leo* his Son in the Empire, who Reigned five years, and left his Son *Constantine*, being ten years old, together with his Mother *Irene*, to rule the Empire. *Anno* 773. the Monkish Writers of those times highly extol the Queen, [b] stiling her, *Most Pious*, because Pope *Adrian*, by his Instruments, brought her over to restore Images; and then the Pope promotes a general Council, which was first summon'd at *Constantinople*, but by reason of Tumults, (the People of *Constantinople* making Insurrection against the Council, which should restore Image-worship) it was prorogu'd for a year, and afterwards translated to *Nice*; whether the Pope sends his Legats, and all is carried as he would. Now here you may observe a Scene of Popish subtlety: When the Emperor *Leo Isaurus* did not concur in Judgment with *Gregory* the second, altho a Council was desired, yet the Pope would not consent, because he well knew, that the Countenance and Autority of the Emperor, would carry all things against the Popes Judgment. But when *Irene* the Empress, together with her Son *Constantine*, were made for the interest of the Pope and for Images, Then *Adrian* mightily promotes the Council, condemns the former general Council of *Constantinople*, which Decreed against Images, as a meer Heretical Conventicle, and sets up this at *Nice* in its stead. And he laid his design sure enough: for in the entrance of the Council he writes by his Legats, both to the Emperor, and to *Tarasius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* That [c] he was made Patriarch against the Canons of the Church of Christ, as being immediatly taken from a Courtier, and a Lay-man, to the See of *Constantinople*; but because he was satisfied of his zeal for Images, therefore he would not except against his Consecration. And in the close of his Epistle to *Tarasius*, he tells him plainly, If the Emperor and the Council shall not restore Images, I cannot by any means admit of your Conse-

[a] *Sancta magna universalis Synodus, &c.*

[b] *Hierene piissima una cum Consil. gloriose divinitus cepit Imperium.*

[c] Ἐνόμων τὴν ὑμετέραν, &c.

cration.

cration. And this Patriarch, in truth, was fit for the Popes turn, being liable to the exception you have heard, and not learned, he would be rul'd by the Popes Legats, and some busie Monks in the Council, the sooner; and withal, many of the Bishops of *Asia* and *Greece* had bin guilty of voting against Images in the former Council of *Constantinople*; and none of them must be admitted into this Council, but such as would submit, acknowledging their Error, and begging pardon, and declaring strenuously against what they had establish'd; and condemning the Council against Images unto the pit of Hell. And with these preparations you may easily judge, what would be the issue of the second Council of *Nice*, the first that ever declared for Images and their worship.

Phil. These are your politic preliminary Observations, if possible, to blast the reputation of the general Council: But have you any thing to except against the Council it self? although indeed general Councils should not be liable unto the insolent Exceptions of private Men.

Theoph. Hear and judg. In the first Session or Action of that Council, divers antient Bishops are brought in as Criminals, for declaring against Images in the former Council; and they acknowledg themselves miserable sinners, saying, [a] *We have sinned and don wickedly, and have transgressed the Commandment, and we beg pardon.* One of those Bishops, *Theodosius* Bishop of *Ammonium*, makes an Apostrophe to the Saints in Heaven, saying, *I have sinned against Heaven, and against you, I beseech you to receive me, as God receiv'd the Prodigal, the Harlot, and the Thief.* Then he pronounceth Anathema's against all those who do not diligently teach the People that love God, to adore the sacred venerable Images of all the Saints that have pleased God since the Creation. All the criminal Bishops acknowledg worshipping of Images to be an Apostolical Tradition, and that they had no manner of excuse to plead for themselves in what they had formerly done, but all was through ignorance and foolishness.

Phil. This strange palinody and recognition of their former Errors, shews, they were not Men of Conscience and Judgment, that voted against Images in the former Council.

Theoph. It manifests rather the Tyranny of this Council, who would admit them to reconciliation upon no other tearms. One *John*, a Monk, Representative and Vicar of the Oriental Bishops (who by reason of the *Saracens* possessing their Country, durst not come to the Council) declares publicly, *That this Heresie was greater then any other Heresie whatsoever: Wo to those who fight against Images!* And when they enter'd into Consultation about the degree and heinousness of this Crime, *Tarasius* the Patriarch answers wisely, *It is all one in matters of Doctrine, whether you offend in great or small; for by either the Law of God is abrogated.* And so they examin'd former Canons of receiving Heretics, whether *Arrians*, or *Nestorians*, or *Macedonians*; and in like manner determin'd of these

[a] *Ibid.* Ἡμάρτομεν, καὶ ἠνομήσαμεν, &c.

Bishops

Bishops, as highly guilty and criminal, as the worst of all Heretics. Insomuch, That *Basilius*, Bishop of *Ancyra*, declares in the Council, being one of those Criminals, [a] *I do from my heart and soul anathematize that Council of Constantinople against Images, as being assembled out of meer folly and madness.* Another of them denounceth an Anathema against all such who were of doubtful mind, and did not from their soul confess that Images were to be worshipped. This was fair for the first Scene and Action of that famous Council. In the second Action, Pope *Adrians* Letter to the Emperor, and to the Patriarch *Tarasius*, are publish'd and approv'd by the particular Testimony of every Bishop. In his Epistle to the Emperor *Constantine*, and *Irene* his Mother, he congratulates their embracing the Faith of the chiefest Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, promising That these Saints shall be the Protectors of their Imperial Glory and Majesty, and bring the barbarous Nations under their feet. He brings in a Fable of *Constantine* the first Christian Emperor, how in a dream he saw *Peter* and *Paul* come to him, and directing him to send for *Sylvester*, Pope of *Rome*, (who liv'd in Banishment upon the Mountain *Soracte*, flying from the Persecution of *Constantine*;) and that good Pope should guide him to a Pool, wherein he might wash and be healed of his Leprosie; whereupon *Constantine* awaking, sends some of his Officers to the Pope, who alas! thought of nothing, but that by these Messengers he was called forth to suffer Martyrdom. But the Emperor when he came, entertain'd him with great courtesie, acquainted him with his Dream, and ask'd who those Gods were, *Peter* and *Paul*, which appeared to him. *Sylvester* answered, That they were Servants of the most high God, great Instruments of the World's Conversion to Christ. The Emperor demanded, whether he had their Pictures, that he might know them, and a Deacon is presently dispatch'd to fetch their Pictures: and as soon as *Constantine* saw them, he cryed out, *These are the Men I saw in my dream*; and so he was Baptized by *Sylvester*, and cleansed of his Leprosie. Now it is strange, That a Pope should write such a Fable, and that a whole Council should believe it, against the Evidence of all History. For *Constantine* never persecuted Christians, never had a Leprosie; was not Baptized by *Sylvester* at *Rome*, but by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*: for the Emperor designed to be Baptized in *Jordan*, where our Savior receiv'd the Baptism of *John*, and in his Journey towards *Palestine*, fell sick at *Nicomedia*, and was Baptized by the Bishop of the place. This, when need requires, shall be made good, by many authentic Testimonies: and withal, it is most certain, That *Constantine* was a sound Christian, and Defender of the Faith, in *Miltiades* his Popedom, who was Predecessor in the See of *Rome* to *Sylvester*. It appears, he committed that endless Controversie between the Catholics and the Donatists, concerning *Cecilianus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, unto the hearing of *Miltiades*; and how he should be a Persecutor of the Church in *Sylvester*'s

[a] Ἀναθεματίζω ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ διανοίας, &c.

Pope-

Popedom, is a Riddle. I muſt confeſs, *Baronius* would reſolve it: He tells us, *That after* Conſtantine *was chriſtian, he fell away, and committed great Cruelties, and perſecuted the Church, inſomuch, that* Sylveſter *fled to* Soracte, *and that God ſmote him with a Leproſie.* And ſo the Story of his Dream foremention'd, proceeded. But this is an horrible Forgery, purpoſely deſign'd to maintain *Conſtantine's* Baptiſm at *Rome*, and that large donation to the Church Territories in *Italy*, which they pretend to hold from the great Charter of *Conſtantine*. But we have read, *That* Julian *was an Apoſtate*; but never before, that *Conſtantine* was ſo: And withal, the Fable confutes it ſelf; for if *Conſtantine* was a good Chriſtian, as all confeſs, in *Miltiades* days, how comes it to paſs, that in *Sylveſters* time the Emperor had never heard of *Peter* and *Paul*, who appear'd in a Dream to him, but ask'd the Pope, What Gods they were? It ſeems he had drunk of the River *Lethe*, or rather that great Annaliſt was drunk with the Cup of *Romes* Fornications, ſo as to forget the Truth, and vent, in this particular, nothing but Impoſture; againſt the rule of Piety, and Charity, and common Gratitude, to ſtigmatize the firſt great Champion of Chriſtian Religion, who brought Peace and Tranquility to the Catholic Church, with the Brand of Apoſtacy and Perſecution of the Saints. What will not a Cardinal ſay, for the advantage of the Court of *Rome*? I have bin, in the Series of this Diſcourſe, reduc'd to a neceſſity of this digreſſion. But I return, *Hadrian*, after many impertinent Paſſages in his Epiſtle to the Emperor, he urges the threed-bare Argument of *Moſes*, being by God himſelf commanded to *make two Cherubins, and the Brazen Serpent*: And he moſt [a] Logically infers, If the looking upon a Brazen Serpent could heal the *Iſraelites*, much more ſhall ſuch as behold and worſhip the Pictures of Chriſt and of the Saints, be ſaved. Whereas he ſhould have taken notice, how the Serpent was erected by Gods eſpecial command, and endowed with ſuch an healing vertue, whereas they can produce no ſuch command to worſhip Images, or any promiſe of Salvation by looking upon them. He cites from *Jerome* one ſtrange paſſage, but refers to no place, and I preſume, it is no where to be found: It is this, *That as God permitted the Gentiles to adore things made with hands, and was well pleas'd with the Iſraelites, who did adore the two Tables which Moſes hew'd out, and the two golden Cherubins; ſo unto us Chriſtians, he hath given the Croſs, and the Hiſtory, and Images of good Works, to picture and adore them.* Now ſuch Forgeries and Fooleries paſt for Goſpel among the Biſhops of that Council, who never examin'd any thing that was ſaid, if it had any tendence unto their great deſign to eſtabliſh the worſhip of Images. Only there is one memorable paſſage in his Epiſtle, which if well obſerv'd by all, might help to end the Controverſie for aſking the Queſtion: *What honor of worſhip do we give to the Images of Chriſt and the Saints?* He Anſwers, *Such as we ſinners give to one another in love and honor.* We would not much

[a] *Ibid.* Ἐαν ἡ Ὀφις χαλκους κ. τ. λ. &c.

con-

contend about this civil reſpect, if they had not train'd the People to give Religious Worſhip and Adoration to Images; altho (as ſome will have it) of an inferior degree to that Worſhip we give to God. The third Action of that Council, conſiſts in hearing and approving ſome Synodical Epiſtles, and contains nothing of moment to our preſent buſineſs. In the fourth Action, they bring the Teſtimony of Holy Scripture for Images: *That the Lord commanded* Moſes *to make two Cherubins, &c.* And then ſome paſſages of Fathers, who ſpake of Images which they beheld, and were much affected with them: they bring in divers Legends of Miracles effected by Images. I will, for brevity ſake, give an account of one for all. *Peter*, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, brings out a Book of the Paſſion of Chriſt, aſcrib'd falſly to *Athanaſius* the Great; out of the Book he reads this Story. *In the City* Berytus, *in* Syria, *dwelt many of the Jews; and near unto their Synagogue, a Chriſtian hired an Houſe, and dwell'd ſome time in it; and over againſt his Bed be ſet up, at full length, the Picture of our Savior, drawn in a Table: when he chang'd his dwelling, and took another Houſe, it fortun'd that he forgat to take away the Picture, with his other goods, but left it in the Chamber. A Jew ſucceeding in the Houſe for ſome time, never diſcover'd the Picture, until another Jew being invited to dine with him, caſt his eye upon it, and immediatly expoſtulated with his Friend for keeping in his Houſe the Picture of Chriſt, and began to curſe our Savior: but leaving the Houſe, he goes to the High Prieſt, and the Council of the Jews, and accuſeth his Neighbor for harboring this Image: They take company with them, and came to the Jews Houſe, and find this Picture, and immediatly caſt him out of the Synagogue. Then they ſpit on the Face, and conclude to act over again all the Indignities upon the Picture, which their impious Fore-fathers had upon the Perſon of Chriſt; they pierce the Hands and Feet with Nails, put gaul to his Lips, and ſmite the Head with a reed. At laſt, they ſaid, We have heard that our Fore-fathers did pierce his ſide with a ſpear, and let not us omit that conſiderable Circumſtance: forthwith, one fetching a ſpear, pierc'd the ſide, and immediatly iſſued out a ſtream of Blood and Water: at which ſight, they were all amazed and terrified; but recollecting themſelves, they ſaid, We have heard Chriſtians boaſt of many Miracles of their Savior, Let us make the Experiment, and ſend for the lame and blind, and among the reſt, for one who was a Paralytic from the womb; and lo, all of them, being annointed with the Blood, were healed; and ſuch as were poſſeſſed with the Divel among them.* By this Miracle, the Jews of the City, Princes and People, were converted to the Faith of Chriſt, and came to the Biſhop of the place, profeſſing their Faith, and deſiring Baptiſm, and their Synagogue was conſecrated into a Temple of the Lord, and great joy was over all the City. Now this Legend was received in the Council with great acclamation, and glory was given to God who had brought to paſs ſuch mighty things for the Converſion of the Jews, and for the confirmation of the Saints in Image-worſhip. But *Taraſius* the Patriarch put to the Council a ſeaſonable Queſtion: How cometh it to paſs that our Images do no ſuch Miracles? and he Anſwers, Becauſe Miracles

racles are signs to Unbelievers, and not to Christians: and yet to see the luck of it, this very Miracle is at length brought home to their own Times. *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth the Book of Christs Passion, out of which they did take the Story, was wrongfully ascribed to *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the great Champion of the Faith against *Arius*. And so doth *Baronius*, and gives his reason; for in the space of 400 Years between that *Athanasius* and this Council of *Nice*, some notice would have been taken of this notable Miracle, which yet was never heard of, but in that Book. And withal, [a] *Baronius* tells us, That in the *Roman* Martyrology, or Calender, there is appointed an Holy-day to be kept in commemoration of this Miracle, upon the fifth of the *Ides* of *September*, and that the relation thereof was devoutly read in the Churches; and recorded to have happened in the Reign of *Constantine* and *Irene*, the punctual time when the Council was assembled. And thus you see, when they are brought to the Touch-stone, Fables and Legends will appear what they are, counterfeit Coin; and such as relate them, their Testimonies will not agree: and yet the Council easily swallowed this, and many other Cheats and Impostures, serving to erect their Images with their worship. *Baronius* gives us one Note more upon the Passage, *That the effusion of Blood from the Picture was so great, that many Vials were fill'd therewith, and sent to the Churches of Christ, East and West, to be kept as Sacred Relics.* Now any one, that had his Wits about him, might easily conceive the Story did confute it self: For it is not probable, the Christian, removing Houshold-stuff, should leave behind him unregarded and undiscover'd the Picture of Christ at full length; and that the Jew succeeding, likewise should not see it, until his Neighbor comes into the discovery. In the fifth Action of this Council, they bring in many other Stories and Fables, whereof the Reader may give himself an account in reading the History of that Council, given by *Binius* in his 5th *Tome*; and there they pretend to shew how the former Council of *Constantinople* did impose upon many of the Bishops then present, by corrupting Books and Testimonies, and forcing their Votes to concur with them; and this by the confession, forsooth, of those who had recanted, and now sate in this Council to condemn and pronounce the other Accursed. In the sixth Session they come close to the Point, and examine the definition of that Conventicle (as they are pleased to call it) against Images: but not in the usual way of Councils by debating particulars among them, but referring all to a malapert Deacon, one *Epiphanius*, *The Representative of the Arch-Bishop of* Sardinia, and he answers every Paragraph with Exclamation and Railing, as the impartial Reader may observe. To give one Instance, the Council of *Constantinople*, instead of the Picture of Christ, sends us to the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper, in commemoration of Christ and his Passion; and calls the Eucharist Christ Image, wherein he was best represented to his

[a] *Baron. Tom. 9. Anno 738. numero 31.*

Church. Here the Deacon wonderfully insults and triumphs over them, and calls this fancy of theirs, [a] *An extreme apoplectical Madness*. He declares unto all the World, That never any of the Apostles, or Fathers of the Church before them, call'd the Holy Sacrament an Image. Now when we shall consider, that the use of Images and Pictures is chiefly for representation, and that in the Sacrament Christs death is represented, and himself commemorated, this Assertion of the former Council might have well pass'd without such an outragious Censure: and yet withal, to see how confident men will soon be over-taken in their presumtions; we read in *Baronius* (that great Darling of the Church of *Rome*) an account given of one *Stephanus*, a Confessor and Martyr for Images, who expostulating with *Leo Isaurus* for his Image-breaking, [b] bids him likewise if he thought good, proscribe the Antitypes of Christs Body and Blood, which contain'd the true Image and Figure of Christ, and were also worshipped. That which was memorable in *Stephanus*, to call the Eucharist *The Image of Christ*, in the Council of *Constantinople* was abominable; so partial are Men who swerve from Truth, they have Mens Persons and Arguments in admiration or contempt, meerly for the advantage of their Cause: however, the insolent Deacon was no tell-troth, in saying, The Council had no president for their Assertion, when *Stephanus*, one of his Martyrs for Images, had before asserted the same. Now the Council of *Constantinople*, which this Deacon under the Patronage of the Council of *Nice* fain would baffle into a Conventicle, as far as we can discern by their Definition, which their Adversaries have set forth only to be confuted (we give them thanks for it) this Council, I say, designs in the Definition, to lead Men from sensible things unto Spiritual, shewing, that in this World we must walk by Faith, not by sight; and if we have known Christ after the Flesh, from henceforth to know him so no more: That Christians thoughts should not be drawn outward, and distracted with visible representations from Spiritual intendments. They quote a saying of *Gregory Nazianzen*, [c] *It is an injury to have our Faith in colours, not in the Heart.* And he adds, *That Picture which is engraven in the depth of the Heart, is amiable to me: Pictures made in colours will wash away.* They quote *Chrysostom*, saying, [d] *We enjoy the presence of the Saints in glory by their Writings, having the Images not of their Bodies, but of their Souls: for those things which were done by them, are the representations of their noble mind.* They quote a saying of *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*, [e] *We take no care to represent in Tables the fleshly visage of the Saints by colours, but to imitate their virtuous conversation. We*

[a] Ἐσχάτης ἀποπληξίας μανίαν.

[b] *Bar. Tom. 9. Anno 765. num. 9. Audi corp. & sang. Christi Antitypa proscrib. ab Ecclesiâ, ut quæ Imag. & veram fig. tenent, quæ & adoramus, &c.*

[c] Ἰβρις πίστ ἔχειν ἐν χρωμάτι, &c.

[d] Ἡμεῖς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν τ τῶν ἁγίων, &c.

[e] Οὐ πᾶς πίναξι τὸ σαρκικὸ σχῆμα τῶν ἁγίων, &c.

have

have no need of Pictures. They shew how *Eusebius Pamphilus*, when *Constantia Augusta* desired him to send an Image of Christ to her, disswaded her from it: *What Image*, saith he, *would you have? of his God-head? that's impossible; no man hath seen God at any time: of his Man-hood? We believe the humane Nature of Christ to be glorified, and mortality swallowed up in life: and how shall we express his Glorious Body with liveless colours and shadows? The Disciples being in the Mount, could not behold his transfigur'd Body whil'st he was in the Flesh, much less can we now represent or behold him after his Ascension into the highest Heavens.* Other Testimonies they bring, but the Deacon excepts against them as spurious; but these he allows as legitimate, and sets himself to answer them, but with very little satisfaction to the Reader. Now I pray judg, whether these are not more significant Testimonies against Images, then the Council of *Nice*, or any others yet have produc'd for them. Now the determination of the Council of *Constantinople*, after their confession of Faith, upon the whole matter, is this: [a] *We unanimously determin, That every Image, of whatsoever matter or colour, made by the wicked Art of Painters or Carvers, be cast out of Christian Churches as alien and abominable.* And in the next words, they condemn the Art of Carving or Painting, *as an ungodly and wicked Profession*; and forbid every one to keep a Picture in his House. The Definition of the Council of *Nice* follows in the seventh Action. After profession of the Faith of the six general Councils before them, and Anathema's denounc'd against Heresies and Heretics, they declare, to hold uncorrupt all Traditions of the Church written and unwritten, [b] whereof they say, *One Tradition is the making of Images suited to the History of the Gospel, for confirmation of the Faith of Christs taking flesh: and therefore*, say they, *With all diligence and exactness, we define, That Images of the Life-giving Cross, and of Christ, and of the Virgin* Mary, *and of the blessed Angels, and all the Saints, shall be set up in Churches, and Houses, and High-ways, and wrought in Copes and Vestments; because the oftner these Images are seen, the more they bring into remembrance and imitation such as are represented by them.* [c] *We also Decree, To give Honor, Salvation, and Adoration, to these Images; not that true worship of* Latria, *which belongs only to the Divine Nature; but as to the Image of the Cross, and to the Holy Gospels, and that the Oblations of Incense and Tapers should be made for their honor.* And in the Close they give the Reason: *The honor of the Image redounds to the Prototype, and he that worships the Image therein, doth worship the Person of him that is represented by it.*

Phil. You have put your self to great trouble to give this large account of both Councils; yet I observe you have been partial, laboring to represent the one rational and serious, the other light and superstitious: yet when you shall observe the definition of the *Constantinople*

[a] Ὁμοφρόνως ὁρίζομεν ἀπόβλητον εἶναι, &c.

[b] Ὧν μὲν ἐστιν ἡ τῆς εἰκονικῆς, &c.

[c] Ταυταῖς ἄσπασμον καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν, &c.

Council, condemning all Pictures, and the Art of making them, as a wicked and ungodly Occupation, I cannot think you do fully assent to the determination.

Theoph. You must allow something to the heats and passions of Men, and to the present juncture of Affairs. The People, it seems, were given to the Superstitious Worship of Images; and to promote the humor, Idle Monks made Stories and Legends of miraculous Effects from Images and Relics; and the Emperors, with the advice of their Bishops, being much set upon a thorow Reformation, as to this particular, they altogether take away the occasion of Idolatry, both out of Churches and Houses, and public Places, breaking down and burning Images and Pictures, as *Hezekiah* used the Brazen Serpent, because the *Israelites* burnt Incense to it, and forbidding every one to keep Images, and any Artist to make them.

Phil. You make a Plea for them, which afterwards in the Council of *Nice* many of their Bishops did not for themselves: That they were so severe against Images, because of the Peoples Superstition and proneness to honor them with Religious Worship.

Theoph. You heard, the Emperor *Leo Isaurus* made that Plea in his Sacred Epistle to *Gregory* the second. As for the Bishops, those who came to the Council of *Nice*, and recanted their former Actions, they stood not at all upon their defence and justification; but they saw the Stream too great for them to bear up against it, and therefore confessing, aggravating, condemning their former proceedings, and begging pardon, they found that the secureſt way to be receiv'd into the Council, and to retain their Bishopricks.

Phil. On the other side, your self have observed how the Fathers of the Council of *Nice* declared against giving to an Image the Worship call'd *Latria*, which they acknowledged due onely to God, but only such Honor and Adoration which we give to Men superior unto us, or to the Holy Gospels: and it is usual with you (the Law of the Land commanding it) when you take an Oath to kiss the Bible; and προσκύνησις, which is rendred Adoration, signifies no more then salutation, as the Patriarch *Tarasius* declared in the Council.

Theoph. This is something you say to justifie that Council: but you must observe withal, that charge of their Definition of offering Incense, and burning Tapers at these Images; and Invocating the Saints whom they represent for their mediation and assistance, praying to them, as well as falling down before them: this exceeds all civil worship and respect, and can hardly be distinguish'd from Religious worship due to God alone, especially in the apprehension of vulgar minds, who have not subtlety to understand between supreme and inferior worship, or in their practice to make any difference: and withal, that Axiome upon which they grounded the Doctrine of Image worship, *That the honor don to the Image, redounds to the Prototype*, would make Men emulous to honor the Image in the same degree, as that which is represented by it, and so the Image of Christ

Christ, with Divine Worship, as many School-men afterwards expresly maintain'd. And withal, we read, *Stauratius* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, declar'd publicly in the Council, [a] *That he did receive and adore Images, as the pledge of his salvation.* And the last Clause I urg'd of the definition of the Council of *Nice*, *That he who adores the Image, adores him whom the Image represents*, seems to determin the same Adoration to one and to the other. For such Reasons as these the Council of *Francford*, soon after, assembled by *Charles* the Great, consisting of about 300 Bishops, did reject the Council of *Nice*, as setting up Religious Worship unto Images, altho likewise they did not receive the Council of *Constantinople*, because they brake down Images, and altogether forbad them. And when Pope *Adrian* had sent to *Charles* the Emperor a Copy of the second general Council of *Nice*, he, together with the Council of *Francford*, set forth four Books, under the Name of *Libri Carolini*, in Answer unto, and in confutation of the *Nicene* Council, concerning Image worship.

Phil. I presume, you know many of our Doctors flatly deny, that the Council of *Francford* did condemn the seventh General Council of *Nice* for Images, but that they condemn'd the Council of *Constantinople* against Images. So *Gregory de Valentia*, *lib.* 2. *de Idol.* c. 7. and *Alphonsus de Castro*, shews out of *Platina*, That one *Felix* who was an *Arian*, was also an Image breaker, and the Council of *Francford* was summon'd to condemn the Heresie of *Felix*.

Theoph. All this is said, but not prov'd. *Felix* his Heresie was condemn'd, because he held, That Christ, as Man, was the Son of God by adoption, and no other thing was laid to his charge. And likewise, the Council of *Constantinople*, for breaking Images, was condemn'd in short, but the Council of *Nice* at large, for decreeing the worshipping of Images. And *Baronius* expresly saith, he was so far from denying, that he did absolutly maintain, that the Council of *Francford* did condemn the Council of *Nice*, *Tom.* 9. *Anno* 794. And he brings many undeniable Testimonies of those times to confirm it; only in some Historians and Writers of those times, there was a mistake in calling it the Synod of *Constantinople*, instead of the Synod of *Nice*: but they name the Emperor, *Constantine* and *Irene*, under whom the Council was held; and they expresly say, The Council of *Francford* condemn'd the Council which establish'd worshipping of Images; and the four Caroline Books made by that Council, and own'd by *Charles* the Great, which were sent to Pope *Adrian*, wholly determin against the worshipping of Images. *Hincmarus* Bishop of *Rhemes*, tells us, He saw that Book when he was a Youth in the Kings Palace, and did read it: and that when [b] *Hadrian* did still persist in promoting the worship of Images, *Ludovicus* the Son of *Charles*,

[a] Ὡς ἀῤῥαβῶνα τῆς σωτηρίας μου ἔσας εἰκόνας.

[b] *Suarum puparum cultum vehementer promoveret.*

toge-

together with the Council of *Paris*, did write more ſeverely againſt Images, and plainly reprehend the [a] Pope for eſtabliſhing and defending their worſhip.

Phil. [b] *Bellarmin* calls this Council of *Paris* a Conventicle, becauſe it durſt reprove the Pope.

Theoph. Alas! The new Doctrine of the Popes Infallibility, did not paſs for currant Coin in thoſe daies.

Phil. But *Baronius* ſhews, how the Council of *Francford* proceeded upon a miſtake, and great ſcandal in their condemnation of the Council of *Nice*, being made believe, That Council had determin'd *Latriam*, or that worſhip due to the Bleſſed Trinity ſhould be given to Images; and they likewiſe did ſuppoſe the Pope had not confirm'd that Council.

Theoph. Any thing to bear up the reputation and Grandeur of the Pope of *Rome*. But I pray judg how incredible this is, that the Council of *Francford* ſhould miſtake the Council of *Nice*, when *Adrian* had ſent a true Copy of that Council by his Legats, *Theophilus* and *Stephanus*, who were preſent in the Council of *Francford*, and could rectifie any ſuch miſtakes. [c] And upon theſe Motives, *Binius*, tho unwillingly, declares his diſſent from *Baronius* and *Bellarmine*, and profeſſeth himſelf to be of the Opinion, That the Council of *Francford* never rejected the Council of *Nice*, or declared againſt Image worſhip, and labor in vain to ſhift off the numerous Teſtimonies of Writers of thoſe Times, and of that Council. And ſo you may obſerve, how much the Doctors of your Church are put to ſhifts, and fencing about, to ward the blow given in the Weſtern Churches unto Image worſhip by the Councils of *Francford* and *Paris*.

Phil. How do you then believe the Council of *Francford* could proceed upon a miſtake, That the Council of *Nice* had eſtabliſh'd the ſame worſhip to be given to Images, as to the Holy Trinity, ſeeing it hath declared ſo expreſly againſt it?

Theoph. I have obſerv'd many paſſages in the Council, which fairly tend to that Doctrine, notwithſtanding ſometime they mince the matter.

Phil. For the other ſuppoſal likewiſe, That the Council of *Francford* ſhould conceive that Pope *Hadrian* did not confirm the *Nicene* Council, it is improbable, ſeeing his Legats were preſent in that Council, and could eaſily have inform'd them better.

Theoph. I am not concern'd to vindicate and reconcile your Doctors. But the Popes Legats, perhaps, ſeeing the ſtream and zeal of the Council of *Francford*, conſiſting of 300 Biſhops, againſt the eſtabliſhment of

[a] *Indiſcrete noſcitur feciſſe in eo quod ſuperſtitioſe eos adorari juſſit.*
[b] *Concili abulum Pariſienſe.*
[c] *Vid. Bin. Tom. 6. in Notis in Concil. Francford, pag.* 185.

Image

Image worship by the Council of *Nice*, prudently conceal'd, and were willing to let them believe, That the Pope did not confirm that Council, least upon that account they should fall fowl upon the Pope; as afterwards the Council of *Paris*, under *Ludovicus*, did. And so I am willing to conclude this matter, and toil no longer in the Labyrinth of these Councils, either for Images or against them.

Phil. I am willing you should take notice of one Consideration more of *Bellarmin*, [a] *That the Emperors who were against Images were desperatly wicked, and had signal Evidences of Divine Wrath and Vengeance in the times wherein they liv'd.* The first Founders of the Heresie being Jews, and Samaritans, and Mahumetans, and Necromancers, as he proves out of Historians. And then he shews, how in the Reign of *Leo Isaurus*, the great Image breaker, *there was a great Pestilence in* Constantinople, *whereof died near three hundred thousand persons.*

Theoph. *Leo* reigned 24 Years, and in those parts great Plagues are frequent, and therefore no evident demonstration of Wrath in such a fatal Concurrence.

Phil. *Bellarmin* observes, how *Leo* and his Successors, upon this occasion, lost the Empire of *Italy*, and the West, and it was never recovered.

Theoph. He may thank Pope *Gregory* the second for it, who finding the Emperors Power in *Italy* inconsiderable, applied himself to the Kings of *France*, and made use of their Power, both against the *Lombards*, and against the Emperor; upon this account he Excommunicated the Emperor, and forbad his usual Revenues out of *Italy* to be paid unto him. And this was an Act of high Injustice, and Usurpation, and Rebellion; for the Pope of *Rome* was the Emperors Subject.

Phil. *Bellarmin* proceeds to observe, how in the Reign of *Constantinus Copronymus*, there were great Plagues and Earth-quakes, and an horrid Frost, wherewith *Pontus* was congel'd 100 Miles: and likewise, such great Droughts, that many Rivers, and Fountains, and Wells, were dried up; by which Judgments, God did testifie against them, for their detestable Sacrilege; and in one Prodigy most visibly, because the Sign of the Cross, upon a time, was miraculously imprinted upon Mens garments, either in their Houses, or walking in the Streets, and upon the Vestments of Priests; as tho God Almighty would in spight of Image-breakers restore the Cross.

Theoph. If you rely so much with *Bellarmin*, upon this Argument of Providence, I may refer you to the several Apologies made for Christians for an Answer. In the Primitive times, the Heathen imputed all public Calamities to the growth of Christianity among them; that for the sake of Christians, the Gods did plague the World. As *Tertullian* shews in his most excellent Apology: [b] *If* Tiber *swells, and flows even to the Walls*

[a] *Lib.* 2. *de Imag. c.* 12. *Argument.* 9. *&* 10.

[b] *Cap.* 40. *Si Tiberis ascendit in mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva? &c.*

of

of Rome: *if the River* Nile *do not over-flow the Fields: if the Heavens ſtand and give no Rain, or the Earth move: if there be any Famine, or any Peſtilence, they cry out preſently, Bring forth the Chriſtians to the Lions.* Methinks *Bellarmin* ſhould be aſham'd to make uſe of the old Heathen Argument: and withal, the intelligent Reader will find, That *Bellarmin* fail'd much in his Obſervation, becauſe the Emperors, who aboliſh'd Images and their Worſhip, proſper'd in the World, and ſetled the Empire for ſome time upon their Poſterity; whereas before and after them, we read of ſlaughters of Emperors, and ſudden changes. He that had the greateſt influence upon the Armies rebelling againſt his Prince, and aſſuming the Empire. But *Leo Iſaurus*, having caſt *Theodoſius* out of the Empire, and caus'd him and his Son to become Prieſts, poſſeſt the Empire in great ſecurity 24 years, died in Peace, and left the Government to his Son *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, who Reigned 34 years in a flouriſhing State; inſomuch that *Baronius*, ſhewing, how in the 28 year of his Empire, in great Triumph and Solemnity he Crown'd his Wife *Eudoxia* Empreſs, and his two Sons *Chriſtophorus* and *Nicephorus*, Cæſars; breaks out into admiration, ſaying, [a] *Who, conſidering the Felicity of this moſt wicked Prince, would not ſtand amaz'd?* To *Conſtantine Leo* his Son was Succeſſor in the Empire, and Reigning five years, deceas'd, leaving his Son *Conſtantine* ten years old, who, with his Mother *Irene* ruling the Empire, call'd the Council of *Nice*, and reſtor'd Images. You ſee therefore how long theſe Image breakers hold the Empire, but *Conſtantine* the Reſtorer of Images ſoon loſt it: His Mother *Irene* put out her Sons Eyes, and he died, and ſhe rul'd alone for a ſeaſon, until ſhe was thruſt into a Monaſtary by *Nicephorus*, who ſucceeded her in the Empire of *Conſtantinople*. But Pope *Leo* the third took from her the Empire of *Rome* before, well rewarding her for her good Service in reſtoring Images. For we read, [b] That *Charles the Great*, King of *France*, coming into *Italy* with a great Army to defend the Pope againſt the *Lombards*; being at *Rome* on Chriſtmaſs day at High Maſs, the Pope aroſe and put the Crown upon his Head, who thought nothing of it, and declar'd him Emperor of the *Romans*; all the People making Acclamation, and wiſhing, *Long Life and Victory to* Charles Auguſtus, *Crown'd by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans.*

Phil. Upon this Hiſtorical Account which you have given, the Argument from Providence and Succeſs ſeems to hold for the Emperors who were againſt Images. But in the ſecond place, there is great notice taken of that Impiety of their Perſons: *Leo Iſaurus*, and his Son *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, being cruel Tyrants, *Abbas Uſpergenſis* calls the Son, [c] *The fore-runner of Antichriſt, moſt pernicious, fierce, and barbarous, and tyran-*

[a] *Quis conſid. de fœl. ſceleſtiſſ. principis. Anno* 768.

[b] *Abbas Uſpergenſis, Anno* 801. *Carolo Auguſto à Deo coronato, magno & pacif. Imperatori Romanorum, Vita & Victoria.*

[c] *Antichriſti percurſor perniciosiſſimus, ferus & Agreſtis, &c.*

nical,

nical, delighting in Witchcraft, and all Luxury and Bloody Sacrifices, and Invocation of Divels, &c. Of his Father *Isaurus* the same Historian saith, [a] *He was impious against Christians, and the Churches of God, and the worship of Saints.*

Theoph. The Historians of those Times were exceeding partial; most of them superstitious Monks, who had great indignation against the Emperors who brake down Images, *hinc illæ lachrymæ*: and this Abbot of *Usperg* follows his Leaders. But you have heard how Pope *Gregory* the second, writing to *Leo Isaurus*, acknowledg'd, he had given in the first ten years of his Reign, great Evidences of his Piety and Prudence before he fell into the Heresie against Images; and therefore all these black Characters of Tyranny, and Luxury, and Necromancy, were drawn upon the Emperors chiefly for their Zeal against the Idolatrous worship of Images, through the blind superstition of the vulgar. On the other side, they were all Saints who protected Images. The Abbot of *Usperg*, [b] stiles *Irene*, *Most Pious*; who with *Constantine the Glorious, from Heaven receiv'd the Empire.* And yet the same Historian shews afterwards, how this most godly Woman made her Son, much against his will, break a Contract of Marriage made with the Daughter of *Charles the Great*, whom he intirely loved, and to Marry another. Afterwards, dissention arising between her and her Son, she laid a Scene to take him, and put out his Eyes, wherewith he soon died, and she Reign'd alone five years; [c] until one *Nicephorus* serv'd her in her kind, usurping the Empire, and confining her unto a Monastery which her self had built. Do'l this was the Saint that restored Images.

Phil. You must not judge of Truths by the Persons that defend them, God can bring much good to his Church by evil Instruments.

Theoph. Had *Bellarmine* taken your good advice, he had saved all this trouble to answer his Heathen Arguments taken from Providence; especially, seeing in this case (as you have heard) he had no reason to make the Observation: but he will say any thing, true or false, to advance the Cause, presuming his Readers, most of them, would take up all upon the credit of his Autority and Learning; and for his Adversaries, he scorns and defies them as Heretics, not worthy consideration. But to proceed, from the countenance of this famous Council of *Nice*, and of the Pope and his Followers, the worship of Images is superstitiously entertain'd in most parts of the Christian World: the Clergy going too far in their bold Assertions, and giving pernitious example, and yet supposing to salve themselves with subtle and nice Distinctions: and the common People following them in the plain way of Idolatry, being not able to understand the subtleties of their Leaders, or to discern between degrees of Religious worship, they kneel, and pray, and adore the Im-

[a] *In Christianos & Ecclesias Dei, ac religionem sanctorum impius fuit.*

[b] *Irene piissima, una cum Constantino glorioso divinitus acceptum Imperium.*

[c] *Soluta pace nuptialis Fœderis cum Francis.*

mage, as much as the Ignorant among the Heathen their Idol; especially to the Blessed Virgin and her Image such Devotion and Adorations are paid, as tho she were advanc'd into the highest Orb, endowed with Power to command her Son: Visits and Pilgrimages are made from all places to her Chappel at *Loretto*, and other eminent places: all sorts of Treasure and Ornaments are presented to adorn her Chappels and her Images, to array her as tho she were the Queen of *Sheba*, or of the *Indies*: the Marble steps of ascent unto her Image, in some places, are worn away by Votaries, creeping upon their Knees to present their Offerings; and we have Legends of miraculous effects of her Image. The Schoolmen, to keep up this profitable honor of Pilgrimages, and Visits, and Oblations, justifie the practice, make Psalters and Offices of our Lady, and bring her Worship and Invocation in such request, that the Honor and Invocation of Christ, and of the Father, can hardly compare therewith: and so was there let in upon the World an Inundation of Superstition and Idolatry, the People, in simplicity of heart, following their Leaders into the snare.

Phil. You cannot deny, but that in this point of the Worship and Invocation of Saints, and so much more in the Veneration of their Images, the Learned declare a vast difference between the fear, and honor, and adoration, they ascribe to God and to Christ, and what they give to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.

Theoph. In general terms they do; but I do not find them forward to descend unto particulars, which shews they would appear to say something to amuze the World, but nothing to the purpose.

Phil. You know they have made the worship of God, and of the Saints, and of their Images, two opposite Members of that notorious distinction of λατρεία and δουλεία, the one supreme and peculiar to God and to Christ, the other infinitely inferior, appertaining to the Saints and their Images.

Theoph. 'Tis true, St. *Austin* affirms, That the Learned appropriate the Greek word *Latria* (which signifies and imports generally, any service due from an Inferior to a Superior) unto the special Service we owe to God, perhaps from that appropriation of our Blessed Savior, *Matth.* 4. *Thou shalt serve*, The Original Words are, Λατρεύσεις μόνῳ. But there is another word, saith he, which signifies the service we owe to Men, as when the Apostle saith, *Col.* 3. *Servants, obey in all things your own Masters*: Now because in that Text servants are call'd δοῦλοι, therefore the Schools call that service *Dulia*. But I pray observe, St. *Austin* saith, *It is that service which is due to Men, to Masters from their Servants*. But now by the Schoolmen it is Translated to import, *The Service, and Worship, and Adoration, given to the Saints departed, and to their Images*. And I do not find in the second Council of *Nice*, the term of

[a] *De Civit. Dei lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

[b] *Ea servitus quæ debetur hominibus.*

Dulia

Dulia, oppoſite to *Latria*; but Saluration and Adoration, Ἀπαραδεκτα ἐστὶ ταῦτα. However at preſent we diſpute not the terms, but deſire to know the importance of the known diſtinction, That God only is worſhip'd with the worſhip call'd *Latria*; and the Saints with the worſhip call'd *Dulia*. In the firſt place therefore, What is *Latria*? Answers a Jeſuit and Caſuiſt, tells us, *It is Service or Worſhip due to God alone, whereby we ſubject our ſelves to him as to the ſupreme Lord, putting our truſt and confidence in him.* In the ſecond place: What is *Dulia*? *That Veneration*, ſaith he, *which is given unto the Citizens of Heaven.* This ſheweth to whom it is given: but why doth he not tell us what that Worſhip is, and wherein it differeth from *Latria*? And withal, ſeeing *Dulia* ſignifieth ſervitude, in the judgment of [c] *Auguſtin*, we ought not to give it to the Saints in Heaven: *We honor them*, ſaith he, *with love, and not with ſervitude.* No diſtinct peculiar Service or Worſhip is due to the Saints in Glory: for herein lies the difference between the Fathers and the Schoolmen. Theſe appropriate a Service and Worſhip to the Saints in Heaven, and call it *Dulia*; to the Bleſſed Virgin, and call it *Hyperdulia*. But *Auguſtin* makes no difference between the Service and Worſhip due to the Saints in Heaven, and the Saints on Earth: [d] *We honor Martyrs with that worſhip of love and friendſhip, wherewith we honor holy Men of God in this life; and we worſhip God alone with Latria.* When the *Manichees* objected, That Chriſtians made Idols of their Martyrs, honoring their Tombs, and erecting Altars before them, [e] *and making Vows unto them.* [f] *Auguſtin* anſwers, *We erect the Altars to the God of thoſe Martyrs, and the Oblations are given to God who crowned the Martyrs: A Chriſtian, with Religious Solemnity celebrates the memories of Martyrs, to excite Imitation, and that he may ſhare in their merits, and be aſſiſted by their Praiers.*

Phil. This paſſage of S[t] *Auguſtin*, ſhews a Religious Solemnity to be kept in honor of the Saints departed; and that the living may ſhare in their Merits, and be aſſiſted by their Praiers: theſe are Truths which you will not freely acknowledg.

Theoph. We do acknowledg them: for by a Religious Solemnity, we underſtand the Feſtivals which the Holy Church obſerves in commemoration of the Saints and Martyrs. By the ſociety of their Merits, we underſtand, that by imitation of the Saints, we have a Fellowſhip in their Labors, and in their Crowns. And for the laſt Clauſe, the aſſiſtance of their Prayers, we doubt not, but that the Saints in Heaven do pray for the Church of God, and his Servants here on Earth; but as for any knowledge of particulars, when we come to that Point, I can ſhew, how

[a] *Lib. 9. Inſtit. Moralium, c. 5. Cultus ſoli Deo, &c.*

[b] *Veneratio quæ civibus Cœli tribuitur.*

[c] *Tom. 1. de vera Relig. c. 55. Honoramus eos charitate, non ſervitute.*

[d] *Lib. 20. Contra Fauſt. Manich. c. 21. Colimus Martyres eo cultu dilect. 190. Quo etiam vivis ſanctis hujus ætatis.*

[e] *Altaria erigimus Deo Martyrum, & quod offertur, Deo offertur, &c.*

St *Auguſtin* doubts, [a] Whether the Bleſſed Saints and Martyrs do hear the Prayers which are offered up at their Shrines; nay, he confeſſeth, that they do not know what is done here below; and that when by the power of God, and Miniſtry of Angels, Miracles were done at their Shrines, themſelves might not know it, no not when they did appear to ſome upon Earth; as *Saul* ſaw in a Viſion one *Ananias* coming to him, and putting his hands upon him, that he might receive his ſight; but *Ananias* himſelf knew nothing of that appearance to *Saul*, until the Lord declared it to him, *Acts* 9. 12. God might pleaſe to act great things at the Monuments of Martyrs, [b] whil'ſt themſelves *were in perfect reſt*, as he ſpeaks. But this by the way, it belongs to another Controverſie, in due time to be aſſum'd. However, you have heard *Auguſtin*, object all that he had ſaid, concluding, *We honor Martyrs with that worſhip of Love and Friendſhip, wherewith we honor Holy Men of God in this Life*; and if you will require no more Veneration to be given to them, we will grant it: But then you muſt remember, That *Paul*, when living, did forbid *Cornelius* to worſhip him; and ſo did the Angel prohibit the Apoſtle *John*; and ſo would all the glorious Saints in Heaven prohibit your Adoration before their Images, if they could communicate in ſpeech, or any other way with you: Religious Worſhip we deny to the Saints and their Images; civil honor and reſpect we give.

Phil. Becauſe the Saints and Angels of God are like him in their natural Powers and Qualities, moral and civil honor is due to them; for honor is the acknowledgment of ſome Excellency. But then in regard unto their ſupernatural Gifts, and Spiritual and Religious Qualities, we muſt allow them Religious and Spiritual Honor and Veneration.

Theoph. [c] St *Auguſtin* obſerves, how *the very name of Religion ſtrictly binds us to God*: and therefore all Religious Acts and Services are due only to him. Had not *Peter*, and *Paul*, and the other Saints in bliſs, while they were living in the Fleſh, ſupernatural Gifts and Excellencies? and would you have worſhip'd them with Religious Worſhip? *Cornelius* attemted it, and was forbidden.

Phil. There is a great diſproportion between the Saints in Glory, and the Saints militant here on Earth.

Theoph. In regard of their Happineſs and Fruition, they are excellent beyond compare; but this is their reward: the Honor we give them, is in commemoration of their Works and Excellencies in this Life, for our example and imitation. And withal, *Cornelius* worſhipping *Peter* in the Fleſh, was ſure *Peter* was ſenſible of that Honor then given; and you know the Apoſtle refus'd it: but if you worſhip him now, being in Heaven, you may rationally doubt, as St *Auguſtin* did of the Saints in gene-

[a] *Lib. de cura pro Mort. c. 13. Fatendum, neſcire quidem mortuos quid hic agatur.*

[b] *Cap. 17. Illic in ſummâ quiete poſiti.*

[c] *De vera Relig. c. 55. Uni Deo religamur animas noſtras, unde Religio dicta creditur.*

neral,

neral, whether he is ſenſible of that Honor more then his Image before which you fall down and worſhip.

Phil. However, God accepts the Honor done to his Saints, as to himſelf.

Theoph. Yes, when done according to his rule: But where hath God given any command or direction to worſhip them? you bring no proofs of your Practice out of Holy Scripture: we urge many Texts againſt it. Your Arguments run altogether upon Analogy and Proportion; that much more honor is due to the Saints now in Heaven, then when they liv'd in the Fleſh, becauſe they are much more excellent, confirm'd in Grace and Glory; the great Favorites of the King of Heaven. So proceed your Arguments for the worſhipping of their Images; we give unto them, ſay ye, a relative, inferior, dependent honor, according to the Analogy of Reaſon; he that loves the Perſon, will love his Image: But where is the Autority of Holy Scripture? God cannot be offended, you will ſay, that the Images of his Saints and Servants ſhould be had in honor; and what is done to the Image, redounds to the honor of the Saint repreſented by it; and of God, who hath highly honored him. But ſtill you muſt keep within your Bounds: God is jealous of his Honor, and will not permit any degree thereof to be communicated to any other, whether Saint or Angel, much leſs to their Images. For inſtance, Adoration, falling down and worſhipping: the Angel refus'd it, and ſends the Apoſtle, *to give that to God*: *Peter* refus'd it: the Divel deſir'd it upon great promiſes, *If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me* (or before me) [a] *all theſe things will I give Thee*: but our Bleſſed Savior repli'd, *It appertains only to God*: *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God.* The word is, προσκυνήσεις: and yet this Adoration and Worſhip ye give to Images, ye bow down and worſhip before them.

Phil. But this Adoration we give, is infinitely inferior to the Worſhip of God.

Theoph. This you ſay; but many of your Doctors ſay otherwiſe: [b] *Aquinas*, the great Oracle of the Schools, expreſly holds, *That the Image of Chriſt is to be ador'd with that Worſhip, call'd* Latria: and he gives the reaſon, *becauſe the honor of the Image redounds to the Prototype; and according to* Ariſtotle, ſaith he, *the ſame motion of the mind tends to the Image as an Image, and to the thing repreſented by it: and therefore, ſeeing Chriſt is worſhip'd with Divine Adoration, ſo likewiſe his Image.* [c] In the next Article, he declares the ſame for the Crucifix: *It is to be worſhip'd with the worſhip due to God*; and proves it thus, *Becauſe in the Croſs we put our hope of Salvation*: *For upon the Paſſion-day*, ſaith he, *the Church hath taught us to ſay, All hail, O Croſs! our only hope: Increaſe to the Godly ſalvation, and give pardon to the guilty.*

[a] *Luke* 4. ver. 7. Ἐαν προσκυνήσῃς ἐνώπιόν μου.

[b] *Part.* 3. *q.* 25. *Art.* 3. *Imag. Chriſti cultu Latr. coli debeat, &c.*

[c] *Art.* 4. *Crux Chriſti adoranda eſt adoretion, Latriæ. Quia in ea ponimus, &c.*

Phil.

Phil. One Doctors Opinion signifies but little.

Theoph. If your Church do not approve it, why after so long a time do they not censure it? But what do you speak of one Doctor? [a] *Azorius*, a Jesuit and Casuist, shews it is the common Opinion of the Doctors, and quotes *Aquinas*; *Bonaventure*, *Alexander Hales*, *Richardus*, *Albertus*, *Paludanus*, *Almaine*, *Marsilius*, *Capreolus*, *Cajetan*, & *cæteros juniores*; many others after them. And whereas the second Council of *Nice* hath determin'd, *That the Image of Christ and the Cross is not to be worshipp'd* Latria, *with that worship due to God, but with such Veneration as is due to the Holy Bible, and to Holy Vessels &c. It is plain*, saith he, *that Council speaks of the Image and the Cross as in themselves they are sacred things, and so to be honored as holy Vessels, &c.* but if we consider them as Images representing Christ and his death, so we must worship them as we do Christ, with the same honor as the thing represented is worship'd. And he brings the [b] Council of *Trent* to confirm his Opinion, saying, *The honor given to the Image is refer'd to the Prototype, so that by the Images which we salute, and before which we uncover the head, and fall down, we do worship Christ and the Saints.* And because I am not willing to multiply Quotations, I will refer you to [c] one of your great Doctors, whose Works are dedicated to Pope *Pius* the fifth: He tells us, *The Prototype is in the Image, as in a Looking-glass, wherein it is both seen and honored; and therefore, seeing the Image contains the exemplar, and doth not only represent it, when we speak of the Adoration of an Image, as an Image, referring unto and containing the thing represented; we, without any scruple affirm that we ought to worship not only before the Image (as some would seem to speak cautiously) but to worship the Image it self, with the same worship as we do the Prototype.* In the same place he supposeth the [d] *Israelites* in the Wilderness did worship the Brazen Serpent, and perhaps offer Incense to it, and yet without fear of Idolatry, because it was a Type of Christ; and therefore *Moses* and the seniors among them, who knew the Mystery, might fall down and worship it Religiously, and be no Idolaters: and the People also, who knew not the Mystery, believing as the Elders believed, and resolving their Faith into the Faith of the Elders, might without sin worship the Serpent, altho they did not understand it to be the Type of Christ.

Phil. These are School-subtleties, arguing from the Image to the Exemplar, and from a notion of *Aristotle*; and *Naclantus* going farther then the rest, is but a single Testimony, fancying an Image to be a Looking-glass, and the thing represented by it to be presentially contain'd in it. But you have heard the plain determination of the *Nicene* Council

[a] *Lib. 9. Instit. Mor. c. 6.*

[b] *Loquitur de Cruce prout est res quædam sacra, non ut refertur ad exemplar.*

[c] *Concil. Trid. Sess. 25. Honos qui iis exhibetur refertur ad prot. &c.*

[d] *Naclantus Episcopus Clugiensis, in Comment. in 1 cap. ad Rom. prope finem, Representatum est in Imag. sicut in speculo in quo cernitur & honoratur, &c.*

[e] *Reficiebat populus serpentem religiose, & forte obtulit, &c.*

was

was, That the Image of Christ, and the Cross, and so any other Image was not to be worship'd with that worship due to God, but with a worship far inferior.

Theoph. You may perceive, by this, how much your School-men value Fathers and Councils, when they speak not for them: But why doth your Church and after Councils permit them to pass without censure, and an Index *expurgatorius*? *Naclantus* dedicates his Book to the Pope, and therefore did presume upon his allowance and protection.

Phil. *Baronius* excuses the School-men and our Doctors, in maintaining the Image of Christ, and of the Cross, are to be worship'd with the worship call'd *Latria*, because, saith he, they were mistaken, and did suppose, with the Council of *Francford*, that the *Nicene* Council had determin'd Divine Honor to be given to them.

Theoph. If this were so, it manifests your Doctors and School-men to have been grosly ignorant of the Councils. And secondly, That they are resolv'd to assert whatsoever they believe a Council hath determin'd, right or wrong; yea, altho it be against the dictate of their Conscience, and rule of Gods Word. But leaving the Cardinals Excuses and Guesses to himself, *Aquinas*, and the rest, give their own Reasons for their Opinions: the Church hath taught us to put our hope in the Cross, and therefore we worship it with Divine Worship; the honor of his Image tends to Christ. The thing represented is in the Image as in a Looking-glass, and therefore we adore it. Nay, *Acorius* takes notice of the *Nicene* determination, and shews how in one sense it is true, in another, not: take the Image of Christ materially, as a Consecrated thing, so it is not worship'd with Divine Worship: but formally as an Image representing Christ, so Divine Worship is given to it. Now such allowed Distinctions as these, and Doctrines, have prevail'd upon the unwary People to give the same worship to the Image and the Exemplar; nay, to give Religious Worship to all Images. In the Schools they tell us of divers kinds of Worship, whereas in their Churches there is no sensible difference; what Worship the People give to God, the same they give to the Saints; they Pray, they fall down and Worship. And to our purpose, [a] *Augustin* proposeth a serious Question: *Who Prays or Adores, beholding an Image, and is not so affected, that he believes the Image hears him, and hopes to receive from it, that which he desires and prays for?*

Phil. St *Augustin* speaks of the Heathen, and their Idols.

Theoph. And it is very applicable unto your deluded People and their Images: for let us no longer hover in the Clouds, and in the general Notion of a Divine Worship call'd *Latria*, due only to God; and of an inferior Worship, call'd *Dulia*, given unto the Saints in Heaven and to their Images. You know the saying, *Dolus in universalibus*, Much deceit

[a] *In Psalm.* 113. *Quis adorat vel orat intuens simulachrum, qui non sic affectus, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet, & ab eo sibi præstari, quod desiderat, sperat?*

usually

uſually lurks in general terms. We will deſcend therefore to ſome particulars, what are preciſely the Acts of Divine Worſhip. [a] *Azorius* tells us, To put our truſt and confidence in him, is one ſpecial act of *Latria*, the peculiar Worſhip due to God. And yet *Aquinas* hath ſhew'd how your Church teacheth us to put our only hope in the Croſs, *Ave Crux ſpes Unica.*

Phil. This we muſt conceive to be a *Proſopopœa*, or Speech, made to Chriſt upon the Croſs, in the day of his Paſſion.

Theoph. The common People, doubtleſs, underſtands your Figure of *Proſopopœa* ſingularly well: And why doth your Church chooſe to ſpeak to the Croſs after that manner, and not rather to Chriſt upon the Croſs? And how comes it to paſs that *Aquinas* underſtood not this Figure? but ſuppoſeth it to be ſpoken to the Croſs directly, and ſo frames his proof of Divine Worſhip due to the Croſs, becauſe we put our truſt in it? Again, for Churches and Temples built and dedicated to the Saints, [b] *Auguſtin* ſaith expreſly, *If we ſhould make a Temple to any Holy and moſt excellent Angel, either of Wood or Stone, Should we not be ſeparated and accurſed from the Truth, and from the Church of God, becauſe we exhibit to a Creature that ſervice which is due only to God?* [c] And *Eraſmus* his Marginal Note upon this Paſſage of *Auguſtin*, is, *This now is every where done unto the Saints.* [d] Again, *Auguſtin* in another place ſpeaking of the Saints, ſaith, *We honor them with love, not with ſervice; neither do we build Temples to them.* [e] So at the entrance into the Church, Men are taught to direct their Praiers unto the Saints to whom the Churches are dedicated, ſaying, *O ye Saints of God, in the honor and remembrance of whom this Church is dedicated, and this Altar conſecrated, &c.* Now the Temple is call'd, *The Houſe of Prayer, and the Houſe of God*, becauſe to him only, who heareth Praier, we ſheuld ſend up our Supplications. Again, Altars, as well as Images, are frequently erected unto Saints: and yet Saint *Auguſtin* ſaith, *An Altar implies a Deity; the Altar ſhews they take the Statue for a God; and the Altars of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of the Saints, are common, upon which their Votaries offer Gold, and Jewels, and Pearl, and embroidered Garments, &c.*

Phil. *Bellarmin* ſhews how the Altars are erected, and Churches

[b] *Tom. 6. lib. 10. contra Maximinum. Nonne ſi templum alicui Sancto Angelo excellentiſſ. de ligno & lapide faceremus, Anathematizaremur à veritate, & Eccleſia Dei, quorum Creat. exhiberemus eam ſervitutem, quæ ſoli Deo debetur?*

[c] *Hoc nunc fit quibuſlibet Divis.*

[d] *Lib. 1. De vera Rel. c. 55. Honoramus eos charitate non ſervitute, nec iis templa conſtruimus.*

[e] *Horæ Virg. Mariæ ſecundum uſum ſarrum, Sancti Dei in quorum honore & commemoratione hæc Sancta eſt dedicata Eccleſia, & hæc altaria conſecrata, &c.*

[f] *Sermone 6. de Verb. Domini, ſecundum Matth. Quod pro Numine accip. illam ſtatuam Altare teſtatur.*

dedicated

dedicated to God; and ſo the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt, and of Prayer, and Praiſes, are offer'd up to God in honor to the Saints, and they are call'd upon in the publick Prayers of the Church, &c.

Theoph. [a] *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth enough to condemn the practice of your Church, in aſcribing more honor to the Saints, then the Holy Scriptures allow them. Chriſt ſaith, *Do this in remembrance of me.* And *Bellarmin* ſaith, *The Sacrifice of the Euchariſt is offered to God in remembrance and honor of the Saints.* And withal, you ſhould do well to conſider, That if theſe Religious Acts are perform'd to God in honor of the Saints, they are terminated in them, as the *finis ultimus*, the chief end. As when you ſay, The honor and worſhip of the Image redounds to the honor of him whom it repreſents; and the honor done to the Servant, redounds unto the Maſter: ſo the ſeveral acts of worſhip perform'd to God in honor of the Saints, redound more to their glory, then to the glory of God; they are the chief end, and his ſervice but ſubordinate unto their honor. And ſo you run in a Circle, and intangle your ſelves in a Labyrinth, to maintain a groſs and palpable Error of giving a Religious Worſhip to the Saints and to their Images; calling the Croſs, *Our only hope*; the Images of the Saints, *Pledges of our Salvation*: lighting Tapers, and burning Incenſe to them, and ſuch like: and after all, you waſh your hands of Idolatry, and tell the World, That ye give inferior petty honor to the Saints and their Images, and to the Croſs; even ſuch, as to ſacred Utenſils of the Church, or to the Holy Book of Scriptures, or to the Chair of State in the Kings Palace, or to the Kings Image, or to the name of Jeſus, or to the Communion Table. Now if all that I have ſaid implies no more, I yield the Cauſe.

Phil. [b] *Gregory de Valentia*, ſeems to reconcile all the difference with this Diſtinction: *Formal Idolatry, is to give Divine Honor to a Creature, as to God:* If therefore I give Divine Honor to the Saints, or their Images, as Creatures, not as God, I am not guilty of Idolatry.

Theoph. He was driven to this ſhift, to juſtifie the practice of your Church, and free it from Idolatry; but it will not ſerve, for Divine Worſhip is due only to God, and therefore ſhould not be communicated to a Creature upon any account.

Phil. You will have the laſt word, and I yield to you, becauſe the Night comes on, and I ſuppoſe both of us are ſufficiently tired with the length of this Controverſie; and you are almoſt fallen upon another Controverſie, of the Honor and Adoration of Saints, which will require another ſeaſon to determin it.

Theoph. The honor of Saints and of their Images, having near affinity, have bin ſome time taken into conſideration together; but my chief deſign was againſt Image worſhip, as giving great occaſion of Idolatry

[a] *Bell. Tom.* 2. *lib. de Beat. Sanctorum, c.* 7. *Invocantur Sancti in publicis Eccleſiæ precibus, &c.*

[b] *Lib.* 2. *de Idol. c.* 1. *Idololatriæ gemina Ratio eſt Creaturæ, &c.*

and Scandal in the Church. And what I have ſaid, I leave to your ſerious conſideration, giving you many thanks for this opportunity and freedom of Diſcourſe, and for my noble Entertainment all this time I have been your ſtudious Opponent. There are many differences between our Church and yours remaining; whereupon, when our occaſions ſhall allow us other Meetings, if you are willing, we will treat, with Gods Bleſſing, in Charity and Love.

THE

THE FOURTH CONFERENCE, OF THE *Invocation of SAINTS.*

Phil. DEar Sir, Since our laſt Meeting I have been tumultuous in my thoughts, and diſ-ſatisfied with my ſelf, That I could not give ſuch full ſatisfaction to your Arguments, as I at firſt ſuppos'd: However, I have learn'd of the Apoſtle, *Tit.* 1. 9. *To hold faſt the faithful word, as I have been taught*; and not permit the Truth to be wreſted from me by ſubtle, and perhaps, ſophiſtical Objections. I may go to Heaven in the plain way wherein Chriſt and his Holy Church doth lead me, without perplexing my ſelf with emergent Difficulties and Controverſies: reſerving them to be reſolv'd until *Elias* (as the Jews ſpeak) or rather until our Bleſſed Savior ſhall come again.

Theoph. It ſeems you are reſolv'd to hold to the Concluſion ſtrongly, be the Premiſes never ſo infirm: and hereunto, no doubt, your Doctors and your Prieſts adviſe you, To yield an Implicit Faith to the Decrees of your Church, and not diſpute them. But upon the ſame Motive, you ſhould always have ſubſcrib'd and kept ſtedfaſt unto the Articles of our Church (which was likewiſe yours) and not have forſaken her Communion, for Scruples and Imaginations of your own, and falſe Suggeſtions of others; I mean, Thoſe creeping Emiſſaries of *Rome*, who ſwarm among us, and buz into Mens Ears uncertain ſounds, to unſettle their minds, and take them off from ſound Principles, and then infuſe their bewitching Sorceries and Deluſions, making them drunk with the Cup of Fornications; and then, forſooth, their beſotted Reaſon muſt be charm'd againſt all attemts to awaken and to recover them. If Reaſon and Argumentation could induce you to leave our Church, whil'ſt you gave an eaſie belief unto our Adverſaries, give us leave by the ſame method to undeceive and to reduce you; and do not brutiſhly reſolve to hold faſt thoſe pretended Truths, which you cannot defend againſt our Oppoſitions.

Phil. Your Church allowing her Diſciples a liberty of judging, I ſuitably made uſe of her Indulgence: but being now converted to the

Church of *Rome*, I am taught the obedience of an Implicit Faith, and not encourag'd to diſpute her Articles.

Theoph. A rare Artifice and Policy to keep Men hood-wink'd and in Error, by forbidding them to open their Eies, and make uſe of their Reaſon and Judgment to diſcover the Truth. Our Church may eaſily impoſe the like Credulity upon her Children; but ſhe dares not uſe Stratagems againſt the Truths of God, to do evil upon pretenſions of good; to keep her Sons and Daughters in ignorance, that they may be obedient. The Holy Scriptures enjoin a ſearch, and examination, and trial. *Prove all things*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *and hold faſt that which is good*, 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 21. But you would have Men tenacious of their Opinions, without Judgment; hold to the Point, without the proof. St *Peter* exhorts the Saints, 1 *Pet.* 3. 15. *alwaies to be ready to give an anſwer unto every one that asketh them a reaſon of the hope that is in them*: but you are againſt this rendring of Reaſons, the Autority of your Church muſt ſuffice.

Phil. Not ſo neither: The Church commands, and gives ſufficient proof for her preſcriptions, and we ſubmit to her account.

Theoph. Do you take the liberty, for your own ſatisfaction, to examine and judg of the account?

Phil. Yes doubtleſs, the more to convince and ſettle us upon that good foundation.

Theoph. But ſuppoſe upon the ſearch and enquiry you do not find ſatisfaction to your reaſon? Suppoſe your Heart and Conſcience may ſuggeſt Exceptions againſt the Doctrine and the practice of your Church, what then?

Phil. We may have recourſe unto our Prieſts and Doctors for ſolution of doubts.

Theoph. Taking the Holy Oracles of Scripture along with you, that is not amiſs: but withal, you ſhould do well to conſider, That they will ſurely reſolve the Queſtion on their own ſide, and your Church gives no liberty to hear the adverſe Party; and ſo Truths are not weigh'd in an equal ballance, and differences are determin'd, only one ſide being heard.

Phil. Good *Theophilus*, trouble not your ſelf with the non-permiſſions of our Church; it will appear at preſent you have no cauſe to complain, for I am purpoſely come to requite your former viſit, and to continue the debate in a Friendly manner, concerning ſome other Points wherein we differ: and whereas the laſt time you made choice of ſuch Particulars to inſiſt on, which you thought moſt liable unto popular Exception; you ſhall give me leave now to propoſe the ſubject of our Diſcourſe.

Theoph. Sir, beſides the equity of your Demand, the rule of Hoſpitality requires, That in my own Houſe I ſhould deſign to obſerve you; and therefore be pleas'd to make your Friendly Challenge, and appoint the Field and Weapons, and I will anſwer you.

Phil.

Phil. Upon this fair Conceſſion, I will try your skill in one great Point, concerning the Invocation of Saints: and becauſe you ſhall not complain of a ſurprizal, I will principally urge *Bellarmins* proofs, in whoſe Works you appear'd the laſt time to be ſo converſant.

Theoph. Our Church piouſly with-holding none of our Adverſaries Writings from us, that upon due Examination we may judg of Truth; I have, I muſt confeſs, propos'd chiefly to my ſelf the peruſal of that great Cardinals Defence, becauſe I was aſſur'd of his great Abilities, and of his Zeal for your Church, and that in him I ſhould meet with all which rationally can be ſuggeſted to uphold his Cauſe: Let us therefore hear how he hath managed theſe Controverſies.

Phil. Concerning the Point, *Invocation of Saints departed*: After ſome preliminary Diſcourſes, [a] *Bellarmin* undertakes to prove two things, one in order unto the other. 1. That the Saints in Heaven do pray for us. 2. That we muſt pray to them.

Theoph. One of theſe doth not neceſſarily follow upon the other. That if the Saints Triumphant are ſollicitous for, and do pray for the Church Militant in general (for the triumph of their Faith, and their conſummation in Bliſs, who being Fellow-members of Chriſts myſtical Body the Church, are yet within the Liſts, wreſtling with great oppoſition and many tryals) I ſay, it doth not follow, That if the Saints in Glory do pray for the Church Militant, that therefore we ſhould call upon them ſo to do: They are perfect in Grace, and never wanting to their duty, or unmindful of their concerns. Upon this account, methinks out of a Zeal to the glory of God, you ought as frequently to call upon the Saints in Heaven, to laud and magnifie the God of Heaven; as out of a ſenſe of your own wants to pray unto them to intercede for you. But withal, you can never give us any infallible aſſurance, that they do hear our Prayers, that ſo in Faith and with confidence we may call upon them. The Members of the Church-Catholic thro-out the World do pray for one another, and yet one National Church doth not Invocate another, except it be by entercourſe of communicatory Epiſtles. Direct me how to ſend a Letter to Saint *Peter*, and I will not fail to put in my humble requeſt, That he would help me with his Praiers.

Phil. This great Point, concerning the aſſurance that the Saints do hear our Praiers, will fall into conſideration hereafter: mean while, it becomes you not to mock and play the Droll in a ſerious concern.

Theoph. You may excuſe me the rather, ſeeing you ſhall find in [b] *Binius* his Edition of the Councils, a large Letter ſent to *Pepin* King of *France*, and *Charls* and *Carlemain* his Sons, from St *Peter*, by Pope *Stephen* the 3^d^, imploring and requiring their ſpeedy aſſiſtance againſt the *Lombards*, in the behalf of *Rome*, his Epiſcopal See, and of his Sepul-

[a] *Tom.* 2. *Controverſ.* 4. *de Eccl. Triumph. c.* 18, 19.
[b] *Tom.* 5. *pag.* 513.

cher

cher and Temple therein. And you may suppose, Pope *Stephen* could as easily have returned an Answer from these Princes to the Apostle. I shall have occasion to produce that hereafter.

Phil. These are strange divertisements from our business: Are you seriously afraid to enter into the Controversie, that you interrupt my Discourse with such impertinencies?

Theoph. If I should answer your Question, you would complain of more delaies: Take your course therefore, and I will follow you.

Phil. [a] *Bellarmin* proves, the Saints do pray for us from that passage of Holy Scripture, *Tho* Moses *and* Samuel *stood before me, yet could not my mind be towards this People*: Therefore (saith he) *Moses* and *Samuel* being dead, did usually pray for the People of the Jews.

Theoph. We have a rule in Logic, *Suppositio nihil ponit*: This Supposition, *If they should pray*, doth not imply, *They did pray*. The Text only designs to shew, Gods great indignation against his People the Jews at that time; insomuch, that if those two Holy Persons, and greatly belovd, were alive, and should interpose for them, they should not prevail. [b] Hence St *Chrysostom* upon this Text; Ἐὰν τῇ Μωυσῆς ὁ πρῶτος νομοθέτης, &c. If *Moses*, the first Law-giver, who often delivered the Jews by his Intercession from Divine Vengeance; if he were now in being, he should not prevail. The like passage we have, *Ezek.* 14. 13, 14. *Son of Man, when the Land sinneth against me, by trespassing grievously, &c. tho these three men,* Noah, Daniel *and* Job *were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness,* And so in divers passages following in that Chapter: *Tho* Noah, Daniel *and* Job *were in it, &c.* now as this Supposition cannot infer these three Men were in the Land; for *Noah* and *Job* were dead more then a thousand Years before, altho *Daniel* was then living: So neither doth the former Supposition prove, That *Moses* and *Samuel* did pray for the Jews after their decease. That place of St *Paul, Gal.* 10. *ver.* 8. *Tho we, or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gossel to you, &c.* in *Bellarmins* Logic must imply, They did preach another Gospel. Let the Reader pity us, to see unto what a drudgery we are put to answer such futile Arguments.

Phil. I well see, nothing will prevail against your prejudices, but express and positive Texts, and therefore in the next Argument *Bellarmine* complies with your humor. In the second Book of *Maccabees*, and the last Chapter, we read expresly, *How* Onias (formerly their High Priest, and a vertuous and good Man) *prai'd for the whole Body of the Jews, ver.* 12. And that *Jeremiah*, the Prophet of the Lord, *did pray much for the People, and for the holy City*, when *Judas Maccabæus* was ingaging in Battel with *Nicanor*; unto whom, we read the Prophet *Jeremiah* gave a Sword of Gold, as a Gift from God, wherewith to wound and subdue his Enemies.

[a] *Ib. Cap.* 18.

[b] *Tom.* 4. *Homil.* 1. *in primum Thess.* Εἰ οὗτος ἦν νῦν, οὐκ ἀν ἔτυχε.

Theoph.

Theoph. This is out of an Apocryphal Book, and therefore no infallible proof from Canonical Scripture: Now touching the Canon of Holy Scripture, we may have, by Divine permiſſion, another occaſion to diſcourſe. And altho *Bellarmin* pleaſeth himſelf, that *Calvin* had no other refuge but to deny the Autority of the Text; yet we will reflect upon other Particulars which appear to weaken the Teſtimony. For it was but a Dream of *Judas Maccabeus*, which he told unto his Soldiers to encourage them before the Fight; a Dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been ſo indeed, ſaith the Author, *ver.* 11. It ſeems therefore indeed it was not ſo, and ſo the whole Teſtimony is from a Dream that had no reality. In the 12th *verſe*, it is call'd, *A Viſion*, you may ſuppoſe a waking Dream; and therein there was ſo much reality, that *Jeremiah* gave a golden Sword to *Judas* to wound his Adverſaries: but a golden Sword is no fit Inſtrument of War for execution, and it is much, we never read it was laid up in the Temple for a Sacred Relic: and much more cauſe we have to wonder, it is not at all mention'd in the firſt Book of *Maccabees*, which is the more perfect Hiſtory of thoſe Wars; and wherein the Battel with *Nicanor* is punctually related, 1 *Macc.* 7. 41. and *Judas* his Praier to God before the Fight: but of the Dream or Viſion, *ne gry quidem*. And now I pray obſerve, how your Doctors in thoſe Inſtances are inconſtant to their own Principles: for they generally hold, That the Souls of the Faithful departed, before Chriſts Reſurrection, did not enter into Heaven, neither ſee the Face of God, nor know the State of things here above them; and therefore it was not uſual in the Church to call upon them, and ſay, *Holy* Abraham, *pray for us*. Your Doctors hold, [a] *That the Spirits of the Patriarchs, and Prophets, and People of God, were ſhut up in* Limbo Patrum (as they call it) *in a ſubterraneous place, the uppermoſt verge of Hell, beneath us: without pain, and without joy in the Viſion of God: waiting for their redemtion out of that Priſon by the coming of Chriſt, who deſcended into Hell to ſet them at liberty, and to conduct them triumphantly into Heaven.* When we urge that Text, *Iſa.* 63. *ver.* 16. *Doubtleſs thou art our Father, tho* Abraham *be ignorant of us, and* Iſrael *acknowledgeth us not*; to ſhew how the Saints departed know not the Affairs and Tranſactions here below, You anſwer, So it was before Chriſts Aſcenſion: the Saints departed were not in Heaven, until Chriſt opened the Kingdom to them; but they were ſhut up from the Viſion of God, and from all knowledge of the concerns of this World: and yet, contrary to this their own Hypotheſis, you ſee how they give Inſtances of *Moſes*, and *Samuel*, and *Onias*, and *Jeremiah*, praying for their People the Jews, and ſollicitous for them in their diſtreſs.

Phil. You may therefore obſerve the limitation of *Bellarmine*: *Non poterant ordinarie preces cognoſcere*, &c. In that ſtate they underſtood not ordinarily the Affairs upon Earth, nor heard the Prayers of the People:

[a] *Bell. lib. c.* 19. *Notandum ante adventum Chriſti, qui moriebantur, non intrabant in Cœlum, non Deum videbant, nec ordinarie, poterant cognoſc. preces ſupplicantium*

but

but God might reveal them, and ſo excite them to pray for the People: upon which account ſome of our Doctors hold, *That Prayers might be made to the Fathers in* Lymbo, *yea even to the Souls in Purgatory*; becauſe they are in a ſtate of Grace and Charity, and by the gift of God, or by the Miniſtery of Angels, they may hear our Praiers.

Theoph. Upon the ſame ground we may daily implore the Aſſiſtance and Prayers of our Friends that are abſent, living at a great diſtance from us, for God may reveal our Deſires and Petitions to them: but alas! theſe are weak props and ſuppoſitions to uphold a feeble cauſe, and hitherto your Learned Cardinal hath not bin demonſtrative in the point.

Phil. Before we conclude, I do not doubt but you ſhall change your note. In the New Teſtament, we read, *Rev.* 5. 8. *How the 24 Elders fall down before the Lamb, having golden Viols full of Odors, which are the Praiers of the Saints.*

Theoph. What Argument can *Bellarmin* or you frame out of this Text? I underſtand not his deſign.

Phil. Bellarmin ſhews, how Interpreters underſtand, by the Praiers of the Saints, Interceſſions made by the Saints in Heaven, for the confirmation and ſupport of their weak Brethren upon Earth.

Theoph. It ſeems then, even the Saints in Glory make uſe of Mediators, of the four Beaſts, and the twenty four Elders, to preſent their Prayers to the Lamb. The more general Interpretation of that place is, That theſe Odors, filling the golden Vials, are the Praiers of the Faithful upon Earth, which are repreſented in the Pſalm, *To aſcend like the Incenſe*, Pſal. 141. ver. 2.

Phil. This gives as full teſtimony to our purpoſe as the other: for thereby it appears, the Praiers of the Saints on Earth are preſented unto God, and to the Lamb, by the Saints and Angels in Heaven. And to this effect we read, *Rev.* 8. *ver* 3,4. how *an Angel came and ſtood at the Altar, having a golden Cenſer: and there was given unto him much Incenſe, that he ſhould offer it with the Praiers of all Saints upon the golden Altar which was before the Throne. And the ſmoke of the Incenſe which came with the Praiers of the Saints, aſcended up before God out of the Angels hand.* Now this Incenſe offered up, with the Praiers of the Saints on Earth, we may ſuppoſe are the Merits and Interceſſion of the Saints in Glory.

Theoph. And we may ſuppoſe, they are the Merits and Interceſſion of Chriſt, whom *Primaſius* underſtands by the Angel in this place: we know it is ſaid expreſly, *Heb.* 9. 24. That Chriſt is entred into *the Holieſt of all, into Heaven it ſelf, to appear in the preſence of God for us*: and that *by him we offer up to God continually our Sacrifices of Praiſe*, Heb. 13. 15. and without all peradventure, he is moſt properly ſaid to add Incenſe and ſweet Odours to our Praiers and Praiſes, becauſe for his ſake only they are acceptable to the Father. However, I cannot but obſerve what a

[a] *Azorius Inſtit. Moral. lib.* 9. *c.* 9. *Medina de Orat. Queſt.* 4.

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leap your *Cardinal* hath taken over all the New Teſtament to produce his firſt and cheifeſt Arguments out of the Revelations of St *John*, for the Saints hearing and preſenting our Prayers unto God, purpoſely to involve himſelf and others in myſteries and viſions, which can admit no clear Interpretation, neither become uſeful to lay the Foundation of a Doctrine which takes up the greateſt part of the peoples devotions in the Church, viz. of the Invocation of Saints. In a like caſe St *Auguſtin* cried out to the Donatiſts, [a] *Bring forth ſuch proofs as want no Interpretation.* Suppoſe I ſhould undertake to prove That the Souls of the juſt departed are not in Heaven, neither do enjoy a perfect ſtate in bliſs, Rev. 6. verſ. 9. &c. "becauſe when "the fift ſeal was opened, St *John* ſaw under the Altar the Souls of the Mar-"tyrs, of them that were ſlain for the word of God and for the Teſtimony "which they held, and they cried with a loud voice, ſaying, How long O "Lord Holy and true doſt thou not judg and avenge our blood upon them "that dwell on the earth, and white robes were given unto every one of them "that they ſhould reſt yet for a little ſeaſon, until their fellow ſervants and "their Brethren that ſhould be killed as they were, ſhould be fulfilled. Suppoſe I ſhould from the ſame Text urge, that the Martyrs do expreſsly pray for Divine vengeance upon their enemies; but no mention is made of any interceſſion for their freinds, you would not well approve Arguments drawn from ſuch myſterious viſions and Revelations; and therefore do not your ſelf make uſe of them. [b] St *Jerom* tells us, "That the book of "the Revelations hath as many myſteries as words, and that the whole is "to be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe, and not literal.

Phil. Theſe things were certainly written for our Inſtruction, and *Bellarmine* very well argues, That if the Saints in Heaven and Martyrs do pray for jugdment upon their Perſecutors, much more for mercy and favor unto their friends and brethren, for they are more inflam'd with charity, then with an eager thirſt after revenge.

Theoph. I perceive moſt of the Arguments are probable diductions from Analogie and proportion, but we expect divine Autority to eſtablish ſuch a principle part of Worship which you make the Invocation of Saints.

Phil. We are not yet arriv'd at that point, but preparing the way unto it, ſhewing the Saints in Heaven do underſtand our affairs and pray for us, and with your patience I will give other Texts to prove it.

Theoph. More pertinent I beſeech you.

Phil. That paſſage of St *Peter* is full to the point. 2^d of Pet. 1. 15. *I will endeavor after my deceaſe that ye may be able to have theſe things alwaies in remembrance.* Where the Apoſtle ſhews that after his departure he will endeavor for them.

Theoph. This feat Argument is *Bellarmines*, and not St *Peters*, he hath chang'd the order of the words, and ſo by conſequence their meaning. The Original Text manifeſts how the words ſhould be read, not as you tranſport them. *I will endeavor after my deceaſe that you may be able to keep in re-*

[a] *A Ferte aliquid quod non egeat Interpret.*
[b] *Tom. 30. in Epiſtolis ad Paulinum, & ad Marcellam.*

membrance, &c. But Thus [a] *I will endeavor that every one of you may be able after my decease to have those things alwaies in remembrance.* And this endeavor he did use in the daies of his flesh, in preaching the Gospel until his death, and leaving these Epistles as remembrancers. *Bellarmine* indeed hath the confidence to add to the Text his Paraphrase that it might serve his turn. [b] *I will endeavor to have you recommended, or in mind after my death.* And yet it is observeable how he concludes this Text, after all his patching, [c] *to be no evident, but a probable Argument.* Whereas, as he hath shapt it, it is cleer and demonstrative to his purpose, but his conscience checkt him for his additions and transmutations, and so he would not lay any great stress upon it.

Phil. You will never leave your sinister Construction of his fair dealing, but I hope his next Argument has evidence enough, That if *Dives* in Hell was sollicitous for his Brethren upon earth, and pray'd *Abraham* to send *Lazarus* to warn them least they should come into the same place of Condemnation, much more are the Saints in Heaven sollicitous for their Brethren, the Church Militant, and pray for their protection and assistance.

Theoph. Your Arguments a *majori* will not hold without some Autority to support them. This of the rich glutton is but a feeble Crutch, [d] many Intepreters take the whole passage to be a parable not an History, and [e] *Theophylact* upon the place reckons the other, (that it is an History) a foolish conceit. Now you know the maxim, [f] *parables are no Argumentative Topick*, neither are they Narratives of things done, but similitudinary representations to fix some Doctrines more sensibly and effectually in mens minds. Again, if it were an Historical relation of matter of fact, it would not prove the point; That *Dives* bein dead and in Torment knew the affairs of this world. Only he was sensible that he had given an example of voluptuousness and uncharitableness unto his brethren, and that their sins would contribute unto his Torment; and therefore he was solicitous to have them reclaim'd. When he shall urge his example for the *Invocation of Saints*, I will answer, That you bring an ill president to confirm a Doctrine of the Church; and withal when *Abraham* or any of the Saints in Heaven shall undoubtedly appear and commune with you, you may desire their assistance.

Phil. Bellarmine hath one material proof that the Saints in Heaven do pray for the faithful upon earth; because the Church militant and triumphant do make one mystical body whereof Christ is the head. *And so there* [g] *must be*

[a] Σπουδάζω δὲ καὶ ἑκάστος τότε ἔχειν, &c.

[b] *Dabo operam habere vos commendatos, sive in Animo post obitum.*

[c] *Quamvis non sit evidens, est tamen probabile argumentum.*

[d] *Justin. Eucherius, Cyril. Chrysost.*

[e] Παραβολὴ τοῦτο ἀλλ' οὐκ, &c.

[f] *Parabolæ non sunt argumentativæ.*

[g] *Ibid. Communio illa exigit necessario, ut membra pro invicem sint sollicita, & mutuo se juvent.*

a Communion between the members, making them ſolicitous mutually to help one another.

Theoph. He might have ſpar'd to urge the neceſſary mutual aſſiſtance; for we do not pray for the Saints in Heaven, neither are we ſolicitous for them who are immutably bleſſed, and of their affection towards us, their fellow members, militant upon earth, we do not doubt; neither of their praiers for the Church in general, That she may be victorious over all her Enemies, as also for the filling up the number of the Elect, and their Conſummation in bliſs, but this will not infer their diſtinct knowledg of things here below, or make for your Doctrine of *Invocation*. For you know the Saints militant over all the world are fellow members, and mutually ſolicitous for one another, and yet one National Church doth not invocate another in her public offices.

Phil. I pray give me leave to make the Inference when I have ſufficiently fortified the premiſes, you run away with the argument before it is perfect, and ſo conclude it is invalid. For you ſhall find that our Doctors do not only prove how the Saints in Heaven pray in general for the Church militant, and for the Saints on earth; but that they pray particularly for them, for that is *Bellarmines* next poſition. [a] *The Saints in Heaven pray for us in particular.*

Theoph. Be pleas'd to let us here his Arguments.

Phil. He proves the Angels, have a ſpecial charge over us in particular, and pray for us; and therefore much more the Saints in Heaven do ſo.

Theoph. How doth he prove his much more, I doubt it will prove at length much leſs, and the whole Argument a *non ſequitur*.

Phil. His reaſons ſeem demonſtrative, our Saviour ſaith, *the Saints in Heavin are as the Angels*. Luk. 20. verſ. 36. They alwaies ſtand in the preſence of God, and moſt affectionately love us; and therefore want neither underſtanding or will to be aſſiſtant unto their brethren upon earth. And in one regard they may ſurpaſs the Angels in a promtitude to ſuccor us, in that they have a nearer relation to us as their flesh and blood, and have had experience of our dangers and ſorrows, and ſo are the rather qualified to compaſſionate our infirmities.

Theoph. Our bleſſed Savior ſhews how the Saints in Glory are like unto the Angels, and equal to them in reſpect of their Immortality, (for they can dy no more) and in that they neither marry nor are given in Marriage, as you may obſerve the place, but there is no demonſtration the compariſon should hold in all things: and doubtleſs before the Reſurrection, and the joyful union between the Spirits of juſt Men and their glorified bodies; they are in ſome ſtate of imperfection; their appetite of Union being not fulfill'd, and therefore you may obſerve our Savior ſpake of the Saints in the Reſurrection expreſsly, as to their likeneſs and Equality with the Angels, and concludes not any thing before. *They which ſhall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the Reſurrection from the Dead, neither Marry nor are given in Marriage; Neither can they dy any more, for they are*

[a] *Ibid. Sancti qui regnant in cœlo orant pro nobis etiam in particulari.*

equall unto the Angels. Luk. 20. verſ. 35. 36. That they want neither knowledg nor affection to aſſiſt us and take a charge of us, altho we ſhould grant (to avoid diſputes) yet we do not read they have ſuch a Commiſſion from God to attend us, as have the Angels. It is written Pſ. 34. 7. *The Angel of the Lord tarries round about them that fear him and delivereth them.* Again Pſ. 39. 11. *He has given his Angels charge over thee.* It is written. Matt. 18. 10. *In Heaven their Angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in Heaven.* Again Heb. 1. 14. *Are they not all Miniſtring Spirits ſent forth to Miniſter for them who ſhall be heirs of Salvation?* Produce ſuch Autorities for the glorious Saints miniſtery and aſſiſtance, and we will yield your conſequence, that becauſe the Angels of Heaven have charge over the people of God upon earth, the Saints have likewiſe. It is written 1 Theſ. 4. 16. *That at the voice of the Archangel and the ſound of the trump, the dead ſhall riſe.* That the Son of Man ſhall ſend his Angels at the laſt day to gather the elect, and ſever the wicked from the juſt, the chaff from the corne. Matt. 13. Dare you aſcribe this office likewiſe unto the Saints in glory? And therefore your Argument from the Angels to the Saints is groundleſs, a meer invention of man, without any warrant from Gods word. Wherein it appears that the Angels are Gods meſſengers, and Miniſters between Heaven and earth; but not ſo the Saints departed. Now as God Almighty imploies the Angels, ſo he imparts unto them the knowledg and underſtanding of affaires below, ſo far as concerns their buſineſs; and as they attend the Saints upon earth, ſo they know much of their condition. And ſo they *rejoice at the converſion of a ſinner.* But we read not a ſyllable of the Saints in Heaven, of their knowledg, or their Joy, and therefore you can draw no good conſequence from one to the other.

Phil. You conclude well upon your own ſuppoſitions; but take our Doctors along with you, and you will find That God hath committed the charge of the Church militant, and the Saints upon earth as well to the Saints as to the Angels of Heaven, [c] and that *the faithful are govern'd and conducted by the Spirits of the Bleſſed.*

Theoph. Shew their ſubſtantial proofs, and not their confident aſſertions.

Phil. You read how the Son of God makes a faithful promiſe. Revel. 2. verſ. 26. 27. *He that overcometh and keepeth my words unto the end, to him will I give power over the Nations, and he ſhall rule them with a rod of Iron, as the veſſel of a potter ſhall they be broken in peices.* Again Rev. 3. 12. *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the Temple of God* (to uphold his Church) *and I will grant to him to ſit with me on my throne* (to rule and govern, with *Chriſt* his Church, and to preſide over the world) now *Bellarmine* proceeds to ſhew how theſe promiſes are made to the Saints after this life; becauſe they are made to him that overcometh all the Temptations of life, and keepeth Chriſts word until death. And that this government belongs to them before the general Reſurrection appears from that expreſſion. *He ſhall rule them with a rod of Iron, and ſhall brake them as a potters veſſel.* Theſe

[c] *Bell. Ibid. A ſpiritibus beatorum regi & gubernari fideles, &c.*

words

words imply a paſtoral regiment; the original is, ποιμανεῖ ποιμὴν he ſhall feed them as a Shepherd his ſheep, and it is call'd an Iron rod, becauſe inflexible from the rule of juſtice, and therewith the refractory ſhall be broken in pieces, the ſame expreſſions are given of Chriſt. Rev. 12. 5. *She brought forth a man-child who was to rule all nations with a rod of Iron.*

Theoph. Methinks your Doctors in there deep Theologie fetch their proofs moſt from the Revelations of St *John*. Your Doctrine of the Saints in Heaven governing the World and the faithful upon earth, knowing our ſtate, and hearing our praiers, is a great myſterie, (I had almoſt ſaid) of Iniquity, and you cheifly confirm it from ſome myſterious paſſages in the Revelation, an Argument you want plain and poſitive proofs, and therefore fly unto obſcure and figurative and myſtical expreſſions. All theſe promiſes, you have mention'd, made to the Saints perſevering unto the end ſerve to ſhew their ſtate of tranſcendent bleſſedneſs and glory above their fellows, who in this life were inferior to them in their ſufferings, and in their graces. Like thoſe in the parable who according to the improvement of their Talents *had autority given them over many Cities*. Luk. 19. Or like the *bleſſed ſervant, whom the Lord at his coming ſhall find ſo doing. Verily I ſay unto you That he ſhall make him ruler over all his goods*. Mat. 24. 47. He ſhall place him in great honor ſaith *Euthimius* upon the place; and he gives a caution that we ſhould not enquire too far and with too much curioſity into theſe things: nor collect any thing from ſuch parabolical expreſſions, but what they neceſſarily imply. After the like manner *Theophylact* upon the place, *He* [a] *ſhall ſhare in the more Honourable recompences, to wit, in the Kingdom of Heaven: for the Saints are Heirs of all that appertain to God.* And ſo run the general Interpretations upon the ten Cities, &c. Among the Ancients we find no mention of this conceit, That *Chriſt* communicates the charge of his Church and people, and the government of the world before the day of judgment unto the Saints in glory.

Phil. However his proofs out of ſcripture may fail him, *Bellarmine* abundantly ſhews from the Teſtimony of the Fathers, that the Saints in Heaven do govern and take charge of the Saints on earth; and are therefore in this regard likewiſe equal with the Angels.

Theoph. I will take the Teſtimony of the Antient in due ſeaſon, but I firſt deſire to hear all the Arguments together out of the Holy Scripture proving That the Saints do particularly pray for us, and that we muſt pray to Them, for I ſuppoſe the foundation of this Doctrine muſt be ſure laid in the word of God, or elſe all will fall to the ground.

Phil. The Doctrines of our Church are very conſonant unto the Scripture, and out of them you will find ſufficient proof of our duty to call upon the Saints in Heaven.

Theoph. Make that good, and I ſhall undoubtedly become your convert.

Phil. Remember this when we draw towards a concluſion: mean while I will not ſpare to give the premiſes and proofs. *Bellarmine* undertakes to

[a] Τῶν πρωτείων ἀπονέμεται, &c.

prove

prove expreſsly [b] *That the Saints in Heaven, whether Angels or men are pi-ouſly and profitably call'd upon by us who are Living.*

Theoph. Can you tell the reaſon why he puts his propoſition in ſuch unuſual terms, the common diſtinction is of the Angels and Saints in Heaven, but he calls them Angels and men, and both by the name of Saints.

Phil. You cannot deny but that Angels are Holy Perſons, and by conſequence that they are Saints.

Theoph. It is not material what they are by conſequence, but you know the Angels are not commonly call'd Saints, when you propoſe to ſpeak of the Saints in Heaven, none will underſtand you of the Angels, and then for the other member of the diſtinction [c] *Men*, the Souls of juſt Men departed, are not men. The man is dead, his immortal Spirit lives, and upon this Account when you call upon *Peter* and *Paul* to pray for you, alas, *Peter* is dead, and *Paul* is dead, their bleſſed Spirits are with God, but not their Perſons, before the general Reſurrection.

Phil. Theſe are but frivolous exceptions, do not betray your fears by diverting me from the *Cardinals* proofs. Firſt he alledgeth that plain Text for the Invocation of Angels: Gen. 48. 16. *The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bleſs the Lads.* You ſee the Holy Patriarch *Jacob* invocates the Angels bleſſing upon *Joſephs* two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*.

Theoph. It is *Jacobs* Option, not a formal Invocation: his deſire, not his praier, we may ſuppoſe rather that *Jacob* ſends up his hearts deſire to *God*, that the Angel which did alwaies deliver him might be a Guardian to theſe Lads, when *Iſaac* bleſſing *Jacob* ſaid, Gen. 27. verſ. 29. *Let the people ſerve Thee and Nations bow down to Thee*: doth he therefore invocate Nations and People, or rather pray to *God* that he would bring it to paſs? This anſwer ſufficeth, if *Jacob* by the Angel underſtood a created Spirit; but the context makes it evident That the Angel ſtands for *Chriſt* the ſecond perſon of the Sacred Trinity, becauſe he is join'd in this Benediction with the God of *Abraham*. "God before whom my Fathers *Abraham* and *Iſaac* "did walk, the God that fed me all my life long until this day, the Angel "which redeemed me from all evil, bleſs the Lads. Obſerve I pray what great [d] *Athanaſius* ſaith to this place, having prov'd the unity of the Father and the Son becauſe they are join'd in the ſame prayer. 1 Theſſ. 3. 11. *Now God himſelf and our Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt direct our way unto you.* He proceeds to declare, "That no man can pray to receive any thing "from the Father and from an Angel or any other creature, no man will "ſay let God and the Angels give Thee, and then directly anſwers this Bene-"diction of the *Patriarch*. That he did not joine a created Angel, with "God that made him, in the bleſſing; neither forſaking him that nu-"riſht him, doth he ſeek for an Angels bleſſing upon the children, but "ſtiling him the Angel that deliver'd him out of all his troubles, he mani-"feſts that he did not underſtand any created ſpirit, but Chriſt the word,

[b] *Quod Sancti, ſive Angeli ſive homines piè ac utiliter à viventibus invocantur.*
[c] *Sive Angeli ſive homines.*
[d] *Oratione quarta contra Arrianos.*

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"whom he joines with God the Father in the blessing, knowing that he "is called The Angel of his great Councel. Ὁ μεγάλης βουλῆς Ἄγγελος, according to the Septuagint. Herunto agrees [a] *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*. "The "Patriarch of God, means the Father, and by the Angel, the word of the "Father whose name is the Angel of his councel. [b] *Chrysostom* makes *God* and the Angel to be the same, whose benediction *Jacob* implores. "A grace-"ful Soul to God, saith He, how doth he retain the memory of his favors fixt "in his heart? He that nurisht me from my youth hitherto, he that de-"liver'd me out of all evil, bless these Lads. 'Tis much the Learned *Cardinal* should take no notice of these signal Autorities; but bring a Text, in two regards, impertinent to his purpose as you have heard, to prove the Invocation of Angels, which would not however infer the Invocation of Saints departed. Because Angels are *Gods* ministring Spirits, and more constant in the affaires here below, then are the Saints in Heaven, of whose Ministerie upon earth we have no account given in the Holy Scripture, only that they sing and Bless *God* and worship him incessantly in Heaven.

Phil. Give me leave to proceed and shew how our Doctors prove the Invocation of Angels, and then I will manifest likewise how it confirms the Invocation of Saints, *Bellarmine* brings three Texts out of the book of *Job*, to shew the early usage of praying to the Angels. Job. 5. 1. "Call "now if there be any to answer thee, and to which of the Saints wilt thou "turn. Job. 19. 21. "Have pity upon me have pity upon me O my freinds, "for the Hand of the Lord hath touched me. Job. 33. 23. "If there be a "Messenger with him, an Interpreter one of a thousand to shew unto man "his uprightness, Then he is gratious unto him and saith, Deliver him "from going down to the pit, for I have found a ransom.

Theoph. If these be proofs, nothing can miss the mark, if calling be invocating, and Saints be Angels, then the first Text may stand the *Cardinal* in some stead, and *Eliphaz* his Autority must uphold it. But the context shews the meaning of the words, *Eliphaz* would have *Job* enquire and call any one that fears *God* to witness whether any *perished, being Innocent*. Chap. 4. vers. 7. or whether *a man can be more pure then his Maker*. Vers. 17. *Job* had complain'd sadly of his affliction; and his friends design'd to put him upon the search, whether these severe Judgments did not fall upon him for some secret sins. The second proof is as wide from the mark, as Heaven from the earth, his three friends did persecute his Innocency with their grand error and mistake, That God never afflicts but for sin; and *Job* intreateth them to spare and pity him. "For why do ye persecute me as "God, and are not satisfied with my flesh? as it follows in the next. vers. 22.

Phil. Bellarmine shews how St *Augustin* in his Commentary upon *Job* refers both these Texts unto the Angels.

Theoph. Read St *Augustin* in his second book of *Retract. c.* 13. and you will find him doubtful whether he should call it his book (*Liber, cui titulus Annotationes in Job, utrum meus habendus est haud facile dixerim.*) Or rather

[a] *Thes. l.* 30. *cap.* 10.

[b] *Homil.* 66. *in Gen.* εὐχάριστος γνώμη φιλόθεος ψυχὴ, &c.

heres

his who collected his Imperfect notes, he tells us his own copy was so faulty, *ut emendare non possim, nec editum à me dici vellem.* And withal he asserts nothing, but only saith, here *Job* seems to call upon the Angels, or the Saints that they would pray for him being penitent. *Angelos postulare videtur, aut certè Sanctos, ut pro pœnitente orent.* Now *Bellarmine* himself will not grant the Saints deceased in those daies should be invocated, besides the literal sense which I have given is cleer, and therefore we look not further to the Allusions of Interpretors. The third proof is a Text full of obscurity: fit for the *Cardinall* to amuze his reader with out of the Original we read. "A Messenger or Interpreter one among a thousand; who should "shew unto Man his Duty, and bring him to repentance, and pray for him, "that the Lord, may spare him. As *Isaiah* praied for *Hezekiah* being sick saith *Jerom. Gregorie* the Great found no advantage or proof out of this Text for the Invocation of Saints or Angels altho he favour'd the opinion, but interprets that of Christs Intercession. The Septuagint mention a thousand Angels but not to your *Cardinalls* purpose, but against it, ἐὰν ὦτι χίλιοι ἄγγελοι θανατηφόροι, οἷς αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ τρώσῃ αὐτόν, &c. "If there were a thousand "destroying Angels, yet not one of them shall wound him, if he seriously "purposeth in heart to return unto the Lord. And thus you see what blind arguments your Doctors urge to maintain their delusions; if you are not better provided to prove the Invocation of Saints, then you have been of Angels, I could wish you to study our ease, and the reputation of your Doctors, by conceling them.

Phil. You are very pleasant, but I shall make you change your note, you read how *Moses* did beseech *God* to spare his people for the sake and merits of their forefathers. "Remember *Abraham* and *Isaac* and *Israel* thy Ser-"vants, to whom thou swearest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I "will multiplie your seed as the Stars of Heaven, &c.

Theoph. In this Text *Moses* praies to *God*, not to Patriarchs, and therefore it doth not confirm your Doctrine of Saints Invocation.

Phil. It shews that they did allege the merits of the Saints departed as an help and advantage unto their prayers, as *Theodoret* upon the place, when *Moses* thought himself insufficient to appease the wrath of God, he takes in the patronage of the Holy Patriarchs. Therefore if they had not the benefit of their praiers (as not being in the presence of God) they did reap the fruits of their merits.

Theoph. There is a great mistake in this argument, *Moses* doth not urge the merits of their forefathers: but the Covenant God was pleas'd to make with them, that he would multiply their seed, and give them possession of the promised Land. Of this promise he puts the Lord in remembrance that he would please to spare his people, and perform the promise made to their forefathers. So God promiseth unto the righteous, that he will bless their seed unto many Generations, Exod. 20. 6. Yet their children do not urge their Fathers merits, but the gracious covenant of God. As for the Testimony of *Theodoret*, *Bellarmine* hath made it to his purpose, by interposing *Patrocinium* [a] *Patriarcharum* the patronage of the Patriachs, instead

[a] *Faciens Patriarcharum mentionem.*

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of making mention of the Patriarchs, Saints departed, as well as desire made, beseeching God not to break the Cove of those four causes foredorets words. not able to pray for us.

Phil. The Cardinal shews this general answer ton would be injurinant with the Patriarchs to be insufficient,[b] because we ins lame and, inmention made of their righteousness, together with the Cove the Word of *remember* David, *and all his meekness*, Psal. 132. 1. and ver. 10. should *servant* Davids *sake, turn not away the presence of thine Anointed*, safter *Solomon*: For *Davids* sake, and not only for the Covenant made with *David*.

Theoph. Express mention of that Covenant immediatly follows: *The Lord hath made a faithful oath unto* David; *Of the Fruit of thy Body shall I set upon thy seat*: As tho he should have said, Lord, seeing thou wert graciously pleased to make a Covenant with my Father *David*, be pleased, upon the same Motives, to make good that Promise. As for the first part, *Remember* David, *and all his mansuetude and virtue*; so your vulgar Translation reads it: But according to the Original it is thus rendred, *Remember* David *and all his troubles*. And then immediatly follows, *Davids* vow *to build an House unto the Lord*; and Gods Promise, *That one of his Sons should build him an House*: in remembrance whereof, *Solomon* puts up his Supplication. And after all, you may consider how these Texts are impertinently urg'd, making nothing for the Invocation of Saints: the consideration of their Merits, may fall in more seasonably hereafter.

Phil. [c] *Bellarmin* hath one Argument more for the Invocation of Saints, grounded upon the Word of God, which he accounts unanswerable: It is this, *We read, the Faithful have requested the Praiers of the Saints living. God himself sends* Jobs *three Friends to him, to intercede for them*, Job 42. *St.* Paul *beseecheth the Saints at* Rome *to help him with their Praiers*, Rom. 15. 30. *and the like in many of his Epistles: Therefore*, saith the Learned Cardinal, *it is lawful, even now, to call upon the same Saints reigning with Christ: For if it be not as lawful to call upon them for the assistance of their Praiers now they are with God in Heaven, as when they were living upon Earth, It is either because, First they are not willing; or* 2ly, *are not able to pray for us; or that because* 3dly, *They cannot hear and receive our Praiers: or* 4thly, *Because their Intercession would be injurious to the Intercession of Christ. The two first cannot be suppos'd, because their Charity in Heaven is intended and enlarged, and their Praiers more effectual: neither the third, Because as the Angels in Heaven know our state, and can hear our Praiers, so likewise the Blessed Saints: nor the fourth, Because as the Intercession and Praiers of the living for their Brethren, and for all men, are not injurious unto Christs Intercession, so neither are the Praiers of the Saints departed.*

[b] *Pactum Dei, & justitia Sanctorum simul commemorantur.*

[c] *Ib. c.* 19. *Hoc Argumentum Adversarii nunquam solvere potuerunt.*

prove expreſsly [b] *That the Saints in Heaven, whether Angels or men are pi-ouſly and profitably call'd upon by us who are Living.*

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of making mention of the Patriarchs, and of the Covenant with them made, beſeeching God not to break the Covenant: for theſe are *Theodorets* words.

Phil. The Cardinal ſhews this general anſwer touching Gods Covenant with the Patriarchs to be inſufficient,[b] becauſe we ſhall find expreſs mention made of their righteouſneſs, together with the Covenant, *Lord remember* David, *and all his meekneſs*, Pſal. 132. 1. and ver. 10. *For thy ſervant* Davids *ſake, turn not away the preſence of thine Anointed*, ſaith *Solomon*: For *Davids* ſake, and not only for the Covenant made with *David*.

Theoph. Expreſs mention of that Covenant immediatly follows: *The Lord hath made a faithful oath unto* David; *Of the Fruit of thy Body ſhall I ſet upon thy ſeat*: As tho he ſhould have ſaid, Lord, ſeeing thou wert graciouſly pleaſed to make a Covenant with my Father *David*, be pleaſed, upon the ſame Motives, to make good that Promiſe. As for the firſt part, *Remember* David, *and all his manſuetude and virtue*; ſo your vulgar Tranſlation reads it: But according to the Original it is thus rendred, *Remember* David *and all his troubles*. And then immediatly follows, *Davids* vow *to build an Houſe unto the Lord*; and Gods Promiſe, *That one of his Sons ſhould build him an Houſe*: in remembrance whereof, *Solomon* puts up his Supplication. And after all, you may conſider how theſe Texts are impertinently urg'd, making nothing for the Invocation of Saints: the conſideration of their Merits, may fall in more ſeaſonably hereafter.

Phil. [c] *Bellarmin* hath one Argument more for the Invocation of Saints, grounded upon the Word of God, which he accounts unanſwerable: It is this, *We read, the Faithful have requeſted the Prayers of the Saints living. God himſelf ſends* Jobs *three Friends to him, to intercede for them*, Job 42. *St.* Paul *beſeecheth the Saints at* Rome *to help him with their Prayers*, Rom. 15. 30. *and the like in many of his Epiſtles. Therefore*, ſaith the Learned Cardinal, *it is lawful, even now, to call upon the ſame Saints reigning with Chriſt: For if it be not as lawful to call upon them for the aſſiſtance of their Prayers now they are with God in Heaven, as when they were living upon Earth, It is either becauſe, Firſt they are not willing; or 2dly, are not able to pray for us; or that becauſe 3dly, They cannot hear and receive our Prayers: or 4thly, Becauſe their Interceſſion would be injurious to the Interceſſion of Chriſt. The two firſt cannot be ſuppos'd, becauſe their Charity in Heaven is intended and enlarged, and their Prayers more effectual: neither the third, Becauſe as the Angels in Heaven know our ſtate, and can hear our Prayers, ſo likewiſe the Bleſſed Saints: nor the fourth, Becauſe as the Interceſſion and Prayers of the living for their Brethren, and for all men, are not injurious unto Chriſts Interceſſion, ſo neither are the Prayers of the Saints departed.*

[b] *Factum Dei, & juſtitia Sanctorum ſimul commemorantur.*
[c] *Ib. c.* 19. *Hoc Argumentum Adverſarii nunquam ſolvere potuerunt.*

Theoph.

Theoph. Alas! This *Achilles* will prove a very Dwarf: Your Cardinals unanſwerable Argument is of no force. Firſt, To anſwer it in general, we muſt tell you, That we have no warrant in Holy Scripture, either of Preſident or Precept, to recommend our ſelves unto the Praiers of the dead, as we have of the living; and therefore the conſequence holds not good from one to the other. *Bellarmine* knew this well, and was ſo wiſe to take no notice of it; yet it is the main hinge whereupon our regular Devotions muſt turn, even the rule of Holy Scripture, wherein God hath reveal'd how, and to whom we muſt direct our Praiers. His Argument of four horns hath little ſtrength; but could he have added to them this fifth Horn, That the Word of God approveth the Invocation of the dead as of the living, we muſt have fled before it. But alas! all the attemts to confirm this Doctrine of your Church out of Holy Writ, have prov'd ſo unſucceſsful, that ſome of your own Doctors have had ſo much ingenuity, as to acknowledg, That it is not expreſly delivered in Holy Scripture. So [a] *Eccius*, in his *Enchiridion* of *Catholic Confeſſion*, and therefore it muſt paſs for an unwritten Tradition, whereof *Martin Pereſius* confeſſeth, we have [b] no footſteps before *Cyprian*.

Phil. Pereſius gives a rational account (together with others) why the Holy Apoſtles did not lay the foundation of this Doctrine: *It was*, ſay they, [c] *out of their great humility and modeſty, leaſt they ſhould appear to eſtabliſh in the Church their own Apotheoſis, make themſelves as Gods, by directing the People of God to put up their Supplications, after their deceaſe, to them.*

Theoph. Methinks, That which prevail'd with the Apoſtles not to deliver this Doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, ſhould likewiſe have prevail'd with the Church never to have eſtabliſh'd it: and without doubt, had it bin according to the will of God, and profitable to the Church, the Holy Apoſtles would never have conceal'd it out of modeſty and humility. S[t] *Paul* declares expreſly to the Church of *Epheſus*, *Acts* 20. 19, 20. *That ſerving God with all humility of mind, he had kept back nothing that was profitable unto them.* And doubtleſs, it was preſumtion and pride which introduc'd this Error, tho under ſhew of voluntary humility: for if the Apoſtles were afraid to recommend themſelves as Gods unto the People, by giving them directions to pray to them after their deceaſe; the Pope, who undertakes to Canonize Saints, and to encourage the People of God to pray to them, in ſpight of the Apoſtles humility and fear, takes the boldneſs upon him to make them as God.

Phil. You make ſo many Excurſions, that you come not to the Point: How do you anſwer the four Particulars of *Bellarmins* Argument?

Theoph. I have already cut off the four Horns with one blow: He

[a] *Invocatio Sanctorum non expreſſe traditur in Script.*
[b] *De Trad. p. 3. conſid. 7. Ne veſtigium ante divum Cyprianum.*
[c] *Cauſa erat humilitas & mod. Apoſtolorum, ne ſe Deos facerent.*

ſaith

saith, That if we may not pray to the Saints departed, as well as desire their Praiers when living, it must be for one of those four causes forementioned; either they are not willing, or are not able to pray for us, or they cannot hear our Praiers; or their Intercession would be injurious unto Christs Intercession: but I say his enumeration is lame and imperfect, for I have shew'd a fifth reason why not, because the Word of God obligeth not to one, as to the other: It requires, that we should desire the mutual assistance of one anothers Praiers living, but not after our decease; all civil commerce being intercepted, by the will of God, between the living and the dead.

Phil. Do you reckon our Invocation of the Saints departed, a part of civil commerce: I thought it had bin a Religious act and duty.

Theoph. I grant Praier to be such, and therefore a part of Divine Worship to be given only to God: But that Invocation of Holy Men living (as you call it) or as I term it, That pious desire and request which one Christian makes unto another, that he may enjoy the benefit of his Praiers (from whence you draw an Argument for Invocation after their decease) that, doubtless, is a civil Request, wherewith Christians mutually call upon and oblige one another to remember them in their Praiers. So likewise the honor which Subjects yield unto their Prince, presenting their Petitions with bended knees, is civil. And so Children, begging the Blessing of their Parents: these are formally Civil, not Religious Acts. A good Christian indeed gives honor to his Prince, and to his Parents, not only upon a civil account, but also Religious, it being a duty requir'd in the Word of God; yet the honor it self is civil; the motive unto us wherefore we give it, is Religious, the will and command of God.

Phil. You are willing to involve the Discourse with subtle Notions and nice Distinctions: Such honor as you give to Princes and Parents, vouchsafe to the Saints in Glory, begging the assistance of their Praiers upon your knees, and it shall suffice.

Theoph. Your self caus'd this Digression: You suppos'd the Invocation of Saints departed, to be a Religious act; and so in truth you generally make it, a great part of your Religion. I have shewed how the desire and request which Christians make to one another, whilst they are in the Flesh, mutually to be remembred in their Praiers, is a civil request, and therefore no sufficient ground for your Religious Invocation of the Saints in glory. But at length, you are content we should make the same civil Requests to the Saints in Heaven for their Praiers, as to the Faithful who are living: You may observe it generally, such as are in the wrong, will accept of any composition. But we cannot grant it for this reason, because Death intercepts all civil Obligations and Commerce between Persons: Parents, when they are dead, cease to be provident for their dear Children, and these expect it not from them: The rich Man departed, cannot relieve the poor, nor lend him Money at his need. You formerly did urge, there was a communion between

the Church Militant and Triumphant; but that is mystical, as Fellow-members of Christs Body: But the civil communion between Brethren and Neighbors, and the relation of Parents and Children, Masters and Servants, Princes and Subjects, Husband and Wife, is interrupted altogether by death; and so by consequence, all those acts which depend upon, or flow from that communion: That Children should ask their Fathers Blessing after his decease, I never yet did read your Doctors have asserted.

Phil. I am well confirm'd by these your Digressions, That notwithstanding you would appear to slight *Bellarmins* Argument, and pretend to cut off all the four Horns at one blow, by giving a general answer; yet in truth, you do warily decline the force of it, and are not willing to come to the four Particulars whereupon he hath insisted, That seeing the Saints departed are as willing and as able to help us now with their Praiers, as when they were living amongst us; and seeing they know our state, and can hear and receive our Addresses to them, and seeing their Intercession now for us is not injurious to the Intercession of Christ, therefore we have as much and more reason to Invocate them now in Heaven, then when they were conversant with us upon Earth.

Theoph. Not excluding the confutation already given, I will now take these four Particulars into consideration? The two first may easily be granted (if there could be mutual communion between them and us) That the Saints departed have as much charity to pray for us, and that their Praiers are as prevalent with God: But alas! Death hath intercepted former commerce. And his third Particular must be well prov'd, or all will fall to the ground, namely, That the Saints in Heaven do hear our Praiers, and know our particular needs; otherwise, it will be in vain to call for their assistance. And this main Point, your Cardinal doth but slightly touch, and gives a short and fallible proof of it: That because *the Angels know the conversion of a sinner, and rejoice thereat*, according to the saying of our Blessed Savior, therefore likewise the blessed Saints do know our state, and all our concerns. Now we have already shew'd, how the Consequence is weakly drawn, from the knowledg of the Angels to the knowledg of the Saints in Heaven, because the Angels are Gods Messengers, ministring unto the heirs of Salvation; they are imploi'd about us, and know much of our concerns: but of the Saints departed, no such things are recorded. And moreover, doubtless the Angels themselves know not all the affairs of particular persons, only of those about whom they are emploied, and so far as God shall impart to them in their Embassage and Emploiments.

Phil. As they know the Conversion of every Sinner that repenteth, and rejoice; so do they know and hear the Praiers of all the Faithful, especially such as do concern them, and are particularly directed to them.

Theoph. We are much in the dark as to the measure and extent of their knowledg, and must not in these things so much above us, set one foot forward, without the light, and conduct, and revelation of Gods Word. Now we read in Holy Writ, *That the Angels have charge over us*, according as God has committed us unto them; but how far, and in what particulars, is not revel'd. We read, *They rejoice at the Conversion of a Sinner*; which way soever, or whensoever, for the improvement of their joy, God is pleased to manifest it unto them, perhaps, by the relation of those Angels who were instrumental in the Conversion. But from those Promises, we cannot infer their universal Knowledg of Affairs here below, and much less the universal Knowledg of the Saints in Heaven. Methinks the Learned Cardinal should not so peremtorily have handled this grand Point, upon which depends the Invocation of Saints; for if they hear us not, in vain certainly do we make our Praiers to them: If they understand not our condition, they cannot recommend it unto God. If St *Peter* knows not of any such Person as *Philodoxus* in being, to no effect shall we beg his assistance.

Phil. Not so neither: [d] *Bellarmin* expresly affirms, *That we do not pray for them in vain, altho we shall grant they know not, neither hear our Praiers: for, saith he, some other may perform their office, and we obtain the favor.* For many miraculous Instances are given in Church Records, of many that have obtained their Requests, whil'st they have applied themselves unto the Intercession of some Saint; and therefore, so we obtain our desires whil'st we pray unto them, it is not material whether they hear, or not, it will concern us to call upon them.

Theoph. He had done well to point out this *Aliquis alius*? Who is this Delegate of the Saints in Heaven, to do their work, whil'st themselves hear not our Prayers? Whil'st we Invocate the Saints, do the Angels help us? The surest way then, would be to apply our selves to them: Doth God help us, when we pray to the Saints? (altho it is high presumption to make God the Saints Delegate, *qui eorum vice fungitur*) however, if God helps such as pray to the Saints, the most compendious course would be to call directly upon him: and so did Christians in the Primitive and purest Times, *Ad memorias Martyrum*, at the Shrines and Monuments of Martyrs they did pray to God, who was pleas'd to work many miraculous Cures at their Tombs, in Testimony of the Faith which those Martyrs sealed with their Blood. And this is the just account of the Miracles wrought by the Saints and Martyrs in Heaven, at their Shrines here on Earth. The Miracles were wrought by Almighty God, before the Monuments of the Saints, themselves not knowing of it; as we shall shew hereafter out of St *Augustine* his Book, *De cura pro Mortuis*. And yet from this Assertion of *Bellarmin* (wherein I suppose he stands single) That we pray not to the Saints in vain, altho they do not

[d] *Ibid. c.* 20. *Non frustra Sanctos à nobis Invocari etiamsi nec audiant, nec agnoscant preces nostras, aliquis alius eorum vice fungitur.*

hear

hear us. From this Assertion we must conclude him very inconsiderable and forgetful, when immediatly after he approves this Consequence, [e] *The Saints are immediatly call'd upon, therefore they know what we ask.* One Supposition destroies the other: If we may prudently and successfully pray to them, altho they hear us not; it cannot follow, That if we rightly call upon them, they do hear us.

Phil. The first Assertion of *Bellarmin* was by way of supposition not granted, altho they hear us not, yet we may profitably pray to them: but he positively maintains, *That the Saints know humane affairs, and do hear our Praiers,* [f] *even such as are made only in the Heart*; altho there may be some dispute how they know and hear, *&c.* and he gives you the several Opinions of the Doctors.

Theoph. His former Supposition, as we call it, was ill put, because it directly overthrows the Consequence which he immediatly after approves: That because the Saints in Heaven are rightly Invocated, therefore they do hear us. But I pray proceed to shew, how the Saints attain unto the knowledg of things beneath, and even of our mental Praiers.

Phil. [g] *Bellarmin* proposeth four Opinions of the Doctors, about the manner how the Saints in Heaven know Affairs beneath, and hear the Praiers that are made unto them. The first, *That they know them by the relation of Angels, who are Messengers between Heaven and Earth.* The second, *That both Angels and Saints are in a sort every where present by the celerity and agility of their natures, and so they understand the Affairs of the world, and hear our Prayers.* And he cites S[t] *Augustin* for the first Opinion, and *Jerome* for the second.

Theoph. He cites them very faintly, *Innuit Augustinus*, saith he, S[t] *Augustin* intimates so much in his Book, *De cura pro Mortuis*: and there indeed the Father tells us, *The dead may hear of Affairs on Earth, by the relation of Angels*; but he affirms not they do so: and then they may hear some things related [h] but not all things. And afterwards he declares, *Fatendum est, &c. We must acknowledg that the dead do not know the things that are don upon Earth.* I shall give you a full account of this Book hereafter. Next for S[t] *Jerome*, *Bellarmin* saith, he seems to say as much in his Book against *Vigilantius*, where in truth the Father doth assert of the evil Angels, *That they wander far and wide thro-out the World, and by their celerity are every where present.* But we must of necessity understand him only in a comparative sense; their agility and swiftness makes them instantly to pass from place to place, whereas gross Bodies required a slow, and successive motion; but Ubiquity and Omnipresence is an Attribute of God, Incommunicable to a Creature. Again, These evil

[e] *Sancti recte invocantur, ergo sciunt quod petimus.*

[f] *Quæ solo cordis affectu proferuntur.*

[g] *Ibid. c.* 20.

[h] *Non quidem omnia sed quæ sinuntur indicare.*

Angels

Angels may be conceiv'd present in all places by their numbers and multitude, not by their individual persons.

Phil. But [j] St *Jerome* in that Book argues fully for the ubiquity of the Saints in Heaven, because it is written of them, *That they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*, Rev. 14. 4. And if the Lamb be every where present, therefore they that are with him.

Theoph. This Argument cannot hold; for then much more the humau Nature and Body of Christ, united unto the Divine Nature, should be omnipresent, which I know none to assert, and therefore St *Augustins* Interpretation of that place, is this, [k] *To follow him, is to imitate him; not as he is the only Son of God, by whom all things were made, but as he is the Son of Man, giving us an example of all things necessary to be followed.* *Bellarmin* knew well the Invalidity of St *Jeromes* consequence, and therefore did not urge it for an Argument.

Phil. But that you love to contradict and spin out your Discourse, you need not have perplex'd your self and me with these Answers: For you know *Bellarmine* approves of neither of these two ways of the Saints knowledg in Heaven, Because, saith he, clearity cannot suffice, but true ubiquity is requir'd to hear all the Praiers that shall be made to a Saint, perhaps in all places of the World at the same time. And again, he saith, That neither Angels nor Saints in Heaven, altho they were present with us, can naturally know our mental Praiers.

Theoph. We account these to be substantial Arguments against the Invocation of Saints and Angels, because they cannot be every where present to hear Praiers made from all parts, and because they know not our thoughts and mental Praiers.

Phil. But these are answer'd by the two new ways he proposeth and approveth of the Saints comprehension and knowledg: One is, [l] *That the Saints do see all things in God that concern them, even from the first instant of their blessedness.*

Theoph. I pray tell me, why doth the Cardinal (following *Aquinas* and other School-men) put in that tearm of Limitation, In the Face of God they see and know all things that concern them: We know, all things are in God, and in him represented as in a Glass and Mirror: and therefore Pope *Gregory* the Great asks the Question: [m] *What can they be ignorant of, who know him that knoweth all things?* And therefore, *In speculo Trinitatis* (as the Schools speak) in the Beatifical Vision, one would think all things should be manifest to the Saints and Angels, and not only such things as concern them.

Phil. The reason is plain: God is *Speculum voluntarium*, such a Glass as represents according to his good pleasure, and what he thinks meet,

[j] *Si Agnus est ubique, ergo & hi qui cum to sunt, ubique sunt.*

[k] *Lib. de Sancta Virginit. c. 27. Quid est eum sequi, nisi imitari?*

[l] *Sanctos in Deo omnia videre, quæ ad ipsos aliquo modo pertinent.*

[m] *Quid est, quod ibi nescient, ubi scientem omnia sciunt?*

unto

unto those who have the happiness to see his Face: And therefore the Angels, who always behold the Face of God, yet know not all things; not the day of Judgment; not the Mystery of Christs Incarnation, and Mans Redemtion; not the calling of the Gentiles, &c. until they learn'd these things by the Preaching of the Gospel amidst the Congregation of the Faithful: so saith *St Paul*, Ephes. 3.10. *To the end that now unto Principalities and Powers in Heavenly places, might be known by the Church, the manifold Wisdom of God.*

Theoph. Your Answer is rational, and excellently serves my purpose: Such as see the Face of God, do not in that Beatifical Vision see and know all things, but only such things as pleaseth him to revele unto them. And therefore the fourth Opinion which *Bellarmin* mentions, was, *That God doth revele unto the Saints, in every instant, such Particulars as concern them; and so, when Praiers are made unto them, the Lord makes the Blessed Saints to know and hear their Praiers, by particular Revelation.* Hereupon, I demand how this is prov'd, That it is the good pleasure of God, constantly to revele unto the Saints whatsoever doth concern them; or all the Praiers that are made unto them.

Phil. I do not find the Cardinal attemts to prove this; because he had reason to take it for granted.

Theoph. Or rather because he had no proof to offer: and in truth, he doth not so well approve this way of particular Revelation from God to the Saints, because, as he argues well, [a] *If the Saints know our Praiers which we make to them, by Revelation from God, we should not so constantly say to them, Pray for us; but rather sometimes beseech Almighty God, that he would please to revele our Praiers to those Saints we Invocate.*

Phil. He prefers that Opinion as most profitable, That the Saints in Glory, always standing in the presence of God, and beholding his Face, do in that Beatifical Vision behold all things which relate unto them, and need no particular Revelation; and therefore, in the Vision of God, they know and hear the Praiers that are made unto them, even from the first instant of their Beatitude.

Theoph. And so three waies *Bellarmin* doth not approve whereby the Saints and Angels are concern'd to know our state and hear our Praiers. Now the fourth which he sticks too, That from the first instant of their happiness, all things which concern them, are manifest and revel'd unto them. This cannot be true, for then the Saints must know when they shall reassume their Bodies (which certainly concerns them) and so by consequence, They must know the Day of the general Resurrection, and of Judgment, which we deny: They must also know all the Praiers that shall be made to them unto the Worlds end, and so, by consequence, the end of the World. So must the Angels, from the beginning, know the Praiers that shall be made to them, the laps'd state of Man, and his re-

[a] *Si indigerent Sancti novâ revelatione, Ecclesia non diceret omnibus Sanctis, Orate pro nobis, sed peteret aliquando à Deo ut eis revelaret preces nostras,*

demtion

demtion by Christ, and other Mysteries, which were made known unto them, saith the Apostle, in the Churches, by the Ministery of the Gospel. See *Estius* in 4. *Sent. dist.* 46. *Paragr.* 19. *p.* 294. And so while your Doctors, without any warrant of Scripture, generally lay this for a Foundation, That the Saints in Heaven do know our state, and hear our Praiers: when they come to the proof and confirmation, every one abounds in his own sense, and they easily confute one anothers Reasons and Opinions, and manifest unto their Readers, upon due consideration, that they are full of uncertainties in the Point, which they take for granted, and can urge only fallible Arguments to confirm that which they would have receiv'd by all Men as a mesur'd Truth, but we have not learn'd to subscribe to Mens Dictates. And you acknowledg, your Doctor makes not proof of his Assertion, which is a great defect, this being the main Hinge whereupon the Controversie turns. We conclude therefore, there is no reason we should call upon the Saints when they do not hear us; as a Child doth not ask his Fathers Blessing when he is out of hearing. Now you assert with *Bellarmin*, That the Saints in Heaven out of doubt do hear us, but you know not how. It is probable, say you, that in the Face of God they see and know all things that concern them, but give no reason of that probability: and is it fit that a Doctrine of your Church, which takes up in that part the Devotion of all Gods People, should be grounded only upon such a probability, whereof you can give no reason: How can I call upon the Saints with Faith and Comfort, when I have no assurance that they can hear me? I may, with as much reason, daily beg the Praiers of pious Friends, who live far from me, and say, It is probable God will revele to them that I desire the assistance of their Praiers.

Phil. Your Instance runs not paralel: Our condition here is a state of ignorance, their's a state of comprehension: They can see the Face of God, and live for ever: they certainly know all things which tend to their consummation in Bliss, for they are arriv'd at the state of Perfection, and perfect Knowledge is the foundation of their Happiness.

Theoph. The perfect knowledg of God is so: *Here we know in part*, saith the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 13. *ver.* 12. *but there we shall know as we are known*; i. e. fully, perfectly: and this knowledg and Vision of God is Beatifical: But how doth this prove their knowledg of the necessities and Praiers of us poor Mortals here on Earth, whom they have left behind them in the vale of Misery; we may rather suppose, the wisdom of God hath excluded them from the knowledg of their Friends and Relations, and of miserable Man here beneath, least it should prove a diminution of their Joy and Bliss. Your *Angelical Doctor* holds, ° *It belongs not unto the perfection of a created Intellect to know particulars, the thoughts or*

° *Aqu. part.* 1. *qu.* 12. *Art.* 8. *ad* 4. *Cognoscere singularia cogitata aut facta, &c. non est de perfect.*

actions of Men. If God only be seen, it sufficeth to make men happy. As St *Augustin,* [p] *He is happy who knoweth Thee, altho he have nothing else.* In a word, Cardinal [q] *Cajetane* was a Learned Advocate of your Church, and had studied the Point in hand much, and he concludes at last, *That we have no assurance that the Saints know when we pray to them, altho we piously believe it.*

Phil. I well perceive you have a Spirit of contradiction, and please your self much in eluding such Arguments which our Doctors urge from Scripture, and reason, to prove the Doctrine of our Church touching the Invocation of Saints. I will therefore take a more convincing way unto such refractory persons, and plainly shew, by matter of Fact, and express Testimony of the Antients, That this Doctrine hath bin receiv'd in the Church Catholic from the beginning.

Theoph. I presume you mean not from the beginning of Christianity: you have heard how the attemt of your Doctors to prove it out of Gods Word, hath been altogether unsuccessful: and some of your Doctors have confes'd, that it is delivered in Holy Scripture very obscurely; and others have shew'd the reason, even the humility and modesty of the Apostles, which with-held them from publishing this Doctrine, least they should appear to make themselves as Gods after their decease, by requiring the People of God to make their Praiers and Supplications to them. Seeing therefore your Doctrine is not founded in the Holy Scripture, I could give a short Answer unto your pretended usage of the Church, and Testimony of the Ancient: That which St *Augustin* gave to *Cresconius,* urging the Autority of *Cyprian,* [r] *I am not bound to the Autority of this Epistle, for I do not hold the Writings of* Cyprian *as Canonical, but judg of them by the Canonical Scripture; and whatsoever is consonant to the Holy Scripture, I receive with praise; what agrees not, with his leave, I reject. If you could prove what you have urg'd, out of the Canonical Books of the Apostles and Prophets, I would not contradict; but seeing what you bring is not Canonical, with that liberty, whereunto God hath called us, I do not receive his Testimony, whose due Praise I can never equal, with whose Writings I dare not compare mine own; whose Learning I embrace, whose Charity I admire, whose Martyrdom is venerable.* Again, St *Augustin* to the same effect elsewhere: *It is not sufficient unto the Autority of Faith, and of the Doctrines of the Church, to say, Thus I say, or thou saist, or he saith; but, Thus saith the Lord.* So the Blessed Martyr, *Cyprian* himself: *We must not heed what any one hath done before us, but what He, who is before all Ages, hath taught or commanded to be done.* Once more I could answer you out of *Gratian,* [s] *A Custom, without the Word of God to back it, is not*

[p] *Beatus qui Te scit, etiamsi alia nesciat.*

[q] *In secundum secundæ Thom. qu. 88. Art. 5. Certa ratione nescimus, an Sancti vota nostra cognosc.*

[r] *Tom. 7. l. 3. contr. Cresconium. c. 32. Ego hujus Epistolæ, &c.*

[s] *Consuetudo sine verbo Dei, non esse veritatem sed vetustatem erroris.*

Truth,

Truth, but the Antiquity of Error. The Council of *Carthage* resolved thus, *The Lord said in the Gospel, I am Truth; He said not, I am Custom.*

Phil. Can you so easily trample upon the Autority of the Fathers: You have formerly pretended much honor to the venerable Testimony of Antiquity, where you conceiv'd it consonant unto your Principles, and now you would decline that Touch-stone, because you know full well it is against you in this Point of the Invocation of Saints.

Theoph. These Sentences I have produc'd are of the Fathers, and seeing the Word of God doth not establish your Doctrine and Practice, the Autority of Man and Custom will prove too feeble to support it: And where I formerly produc'd the Autority of the Ancients in any Point, I first had laid the sure Foundation in the Word of God. However, it is not my purpose to interrupt your course, fortifie your Doctrine as well you can, and I will attack it.

Phil. I believe so, you have resolv'd right or wrong: But I shall startle you and your Reader, when you shall find the general Current of Antiquity allowing and practicing the Invocation of Saints; and therefore it cannot be a damnable Doctrine.

Theoph. Hitherto I have not so called it: but when I shall descend to a more particular consideration of those horrible Blasphemies we shall discover in the practice of this Doctrine, you shall give me leave to say, it hath prov'd destructive unto millions of Souls: mean while, let it pass for a Doctrine full of Superstition and Will-worship.

Phil. How easily do you make Councils and Fathers criminals, who have avowed the Doctrine! For *Bellarmin* first shews, how in the fourth General Council, that of *Calcedon*, the Holy Fathers unanimously cried out, [t] *Flavian lives after death. Let the blessed Martyr pray for us.*

Theoph. This Council was held above 400 Years after Christ, and yet I did not expect to find so early a Testimony of the Bishops in such a General Council for your purpose: Give me leave therefore to search the 15th Session of that Council from whence *Bellarmin* brings the Testimony. In the third Tome of *Binius* his Edition we shall find it, and now I pray let your own Eyes be Judges. In the Original Greek Copy there are no such words, only general Acclamations of the Council, unto the pious memory of *Flavian*: [x] *Let his memory be eternal; the memory of Flavian the Orthodox, &c.* But the words which *Bellarmin* quotes, are by a Parenthesis inserted in the Latin, and nothing answers them in the Greek. This is a detestable Forgery, and I cannot conceive the Learned Cardinal was not aware of it: however, you see what need there is we should examin your Doctors Quotations, and here you find he is extreamly deficient.

[t] *Bin. Tom.* 1. *Concil. Carth.* 3. *p.* 182.

[u] *Flavianus post mortem vivit. Martyr pro nobis oret.*

[x] Φλαβιάνε αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη, &c.

Phil. It ſeems the Latin Tranſlator deceived him; and it is ſtrange ſuch a Clauſe ſhould be put in, when there was nothing anſwerable in the Greek.

Theoph. Such *leger de main* is uſual with ſome Zealots of your Church to uphold her Innovations.

Phil. Upon the leaſt occaſion given, you are very ſevere and uncharitable in your Cenſures: But what ſay you to his next Quotation of the Biſhops of *Europe* to the Emperor *Leo*: *We have rank'd moſt holy* Proterius *in the Order and Quire of the Holy Martyrs, and we deſire God, by his Interceſſion, to be merciful and propitious unto us.* [a] Now you may underſtand, that *Proterius* was Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and injuriouſly thruſt out by *Timotheus*; and afterwards, murthered by his Accomplices, whil'ſt he hid himſelf in the ſacred Font of the Temple. Complaint was made hereof by the *Egyptian* Biſhops, and the Clergy of *Alexandria*, to the Emperor, who communicated their Letters to the Biſhops throughout his Empire, deſiring them to give their Judgment of the Council of *Chalcedon*, againſt which *Timotheus* and his Faction had proteſted; and of the matter of Fact concerning *Proterius* his death, and *Timotheus* his Intruſion into the See of *Alexandria*: and among other things, the *European* Biſhops in their Anſwer to the Emperor, give this account of *Proterius*, *That his death was Martyrdom, and they deſired the aſſiſtance of his Praiers.*

Theoph. After this ingenious account given, your Teſtimony comes not home to your purpoſe. Obſerve the words. They import no Invocation of the Martyr *Proterius*, but a deſire, That God would be merciful unto them, for his ſake and Interceſſion.

Phil. They ſuppoſed therefore, That the Saints in Heaven do make Interceſſion, and pray for us.

Theoph. But why do you hereupon ſuppoſe, That we muſt pray to them? we deny not, That they generally pray for the Saints militant on Earth, for their Victory over all their Adverſaries, Heretics, and Infidels, and Perſecutors; and that every true Believer, thro the goodneſs of God, may reap the benefit of their Praiers: but that we ſhould pray to them, when we cannot be aſſur'd that they hear us, and when we have no warrant out of Gods Word to do ſo, we dare not conſent. And withal, in this Quotation, I pray obſerve another Artifice of you Doctor: he would have us believe, this was an Epiſtle to the Emperor, of all the *European* Biſhops, whereas it was only of four Biſhops, whoſe Subſcription we find in *Binius* thus, *John Biſhop of Heraclea, Theophronius of Aphrodiaſis, Theoteenus Epiſcopus Cyclenſis, and Babulas Biſhop of Theodoſiopolis.* The other Biſhops of *Europe* give their account to the Emperor in other Epiſtles: and ſo this Teſtimony which *Bellarmin* pretends to be of a Council, and entitles it to the *European* Biſhops, ſinks into a private Teſtimony of four Biſhops of inconſiderable Dioceſſes, joining

[a] *Bin. Tom. 3. part. 3. Concilii Calcedon.*

in one Epiſtle to the Emperor, and comes not up to the Point neither, of Saints Invocation, as you have heard.

Phil. You lie at catch for ſome exception or other: But in the next place, *Bellarmin* brings an expreſs Canon of the ſixth general Council, [a] *Requiring us to call upon the Saints, that they would vouchſafe to intercede for us with the Divine Majeſty.*

Theoph. It is evident, That the fifth and ſixth general Councils made no Canons, and the Learned generally acknowledg it: and therefore ſome Years after, the ſixth general Council at *Conſtantinople* was held and concluded under the Emperor *Conſtantine Pogonatus*, and Pope *Agatho*, againſt the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*. *Juſtinian* the younger, ſummons a Council in the Regiſtery of his Sacred Palace (which becauſe of its famous, capacious Arch, was called *Trullus*; and the Council, *Concilium Trullanum*, the Council of *Trullo*) in the time of Pope *Sergius*, *Anno Dom.* 692. conſiſting of four Patriarchs, and 215 Biſhops, wherein were made 104 Canons, as a Supplement unto the former Councils which made none: and the Council was called, Σύνοδος πενθέκτη, [b] the fifth-ſixth Synod, becauſe it ſupplied what was wanting to them both.

Phil. This was indeed generally receiv'd, but ſome time after there were found nine Canons aſcrib'd unto the ſixth general Council, whereof this which *Bellarmin* quotes, is the ſeventh.

Theoph. Yes. *Surius* tells us, They were found in an old Manuſcript of a Monaſtery in *Gaunt*: but he alſo declares, That they are falſly aſcrib'd to the ſixth general Council, as *Binius* ſhews, *Tom* 5. *pag.* 360. And here we may juſtly ſtand amaz'd, to find your Learned Cardinal cite this Canon as of the ſixth general Council, when he could not be ignorant how that Council made no Canons; only he was willing to found the Doctrine of Saints Invocation upon the Autority of general Councils, and you ſee how ſhamefully he hath pretended to them: If this be the way to uphold their Church, *Let not my ſoul enter into their Councils.* Your Doctor cites likewiſe the next general Council, the ſecond Council of *Nice*, of which I have given you formerly an Hiſtorical large account. It inſtituted the worſhip of Images, and did allow the Invocation of Saints; but this was held 800 Years after Chriſt, about which time this Superſtitious Worſhip of the Saints was publicly avowed. From the general, *Bellarmin* proceeds to the Teſtimony of ſix Provincial Councils, which ſpeak not to his purpoſe. They appoint the Litanies of their Churches to be ſolemnly uſed in the times allotted for them: now becauſe the Saints are prayed to in their new Litanies, therefore your Cardinal ſuppoſeth, they were ſo in the old; and whereſoever he finds a command for the uſe of Litanies, there he infers Invocation of Saints commanded. And the Council of [c] *Mentz* is one of them which your

[a] *Can.* 7. *Solo Deo Creat. adorato, &c.*

[b] *Bin. Tom* 5. *p.* 419. *In notis ad conſilium Quini-ſextum.*

[c] *Bin. Tom.* 6. *Concil. Moguntinum c.* 32. *Ad rogandum Deum, &c.*

Cardinal

Cardinal quotes; and that Council held under *Charles the Great*, Anno 813. tells us, *That Litanies or Rogations are ſolemnly appointed to beſeech the Lord, and implore his mercy*; *viz.* when ſome direful Calamities are eminent, not one word of calling upon the Saints.

Phil. *Bellarmin* in t is place ſhews, how *Walfridus Strabo*, in the 8th Book of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, *chap.* 28. declaring what theſe Litanies were, mention'd in theſe Councils, ſaith, [a] *They were the Invocation of Saints.*

Theoph. Turn to the place, and you will not find it ſo: Firſt, *Strabo* gives an account of the original and uſe of Litanies; and then for their matter, he ſaith, *They are not only Invocations of Saints for help*, [b] *but any Supplications to God are Litanies.* He adds farther, *That the Invocation of Saints was brought into the Litany after St Jeromes days*: but how ſoon after, he aſſerts not, neither that thoſe Councils which *Bellarmin* quoted, did include the Invocation of Saints: you have heard, how the Council of *Mentz* did rather exclude them. And therefore I pray now judg, upon a ſober recollection, of the Cardinals proofs from Councils: they are in part falſe, in part impertinent. It is almoſt incredible, that in leſs then one page he ſhould manifeſt unto as many as ſhall examin him, ſo much deceit and imprudence; but we impute all to his deſperate cauſe, which can be no otherwiſe maintain'd, then by impoſing upon the unwary Reader. Farewel therefore unto the Teſtimony of Holy Scripture, and the Teſtimony of any Council for more then 700 Years after Chriſtianity, unto your Doctrine of Saints Invocation.

Phil. I preſume *Bellarmin* relied not much upon theſe Councils, as you obſerve, he huddled them up in few lines: but his Teſtimony from the Fathers, are numerous and ſignificant.

Theoph. I preſume, he well knew there was little in thoſe Councils for his purpoſe; yet he was willing to make his credulous Reader believe, he had the Autority of all theſe Councils on his ſide: and I am much ſatisfied for my great trouble and pains, in the full diſcovery of the contrary, being deſtitute of any proof from Scripture and Councils, be pleas'd to produce his Allegations from the Fathers of the Church, for the Invocation of Saints departed.

Phil. He cites a full Teſtimony of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagyte*, who lived in the Apoſtles dates, [c] *That as he who puts out his eyes in vain, deſires the light of the Sun*; [d] *ſo in vain do we deſire the Praiers of the Saints, whilſt we live and act contrary to their purity.*

Theoph. The paſſage refers rather to the Praiers of the Saints living, then of the Saints deceas'd: ſuch as neglect holineſs of Life, ſhall not be benefited by others Praiers. And he inſtanceth in *Samuels* Praying for

[a] *Litaniam, de qua agitur in his Conciliis eſſe Sanctorum Invocationem.*
[b] *In adjutorium hum. infirmitatis cuncta quæ fiunt Orationibus.*
[c] *Eccleſiaſt. Hierarch. c. 7.*
[d] *Sic qui Sanctorum preces flagitat, &c.*

Saul;

Soul; and the deſign of that Chapter principally concerns the Rites of Burial in the Church, to ſhew how our Prayers for the living, or for the dead at their Burial, avail nothing, except the Perſons for whom we pray are worthy. And for a ſecond anſwer, I muſt tell you this Book is falſly aſcrib'd to *Dionyſius*: it diſcovers it ſelf to be written after the *Nicene* Council, as I may have occaſion to prove hereafter.

Phil. However, *Bellarmin* takes his next Argument to be moſt evident. It is taken from the early Teſtimony of *Ireneus*: [a] *As Eve was tempted to turn from God, ſo Mary was well perſwaded to obey him. That the Virgin Mary might prove the Advocate of the Virgin Eve.* [b] *What is more evident to the Point then this?* ſaith the Cardinal.

Theoph. It is his Artifice to ſet our a weak Argument, with the greateſt confidence, for this place doth not prove the Point: He ſhould prove the Invocation of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, and he attempts to ſhew her Advocation.

Phil. If ſhe be our Advocate, we ought to implore her Interceſſion.

Theoph. Not ſo neither; as you have bin often told, the Saints in Heaven may pray for the Church in general; the Bleſſed Virgin for the Generations of *Adam* and *Eve*, and yet not hear our Prayers in particular, or be ſenſible of our condition. However, this Paſſage out of *Ireneus* proves not ſo much, That the Virgin *Mary* is the Advocate of the Virgin *Eve*, as the Fathers words ſeem to declare: for the Bleſſed Virgin was not in being, until thouſands of Years after *Eve* was a Virgin. Neither can you conceive, that now ſhe makes Interceſſion for the Mother of all living. None of your Doctors can be ſo cruel, as to keep our Mother *Eve* ſo long in Purgatory. *Ireneus* his plain meaning is this, *That as by the preſumption of the Virgin* Eve, *all her Poſterity did ſuffer*; *ſo by the obedience of the Bleſſed Virgin to the Angels Meſſage, and by the Bleſſed Fruit of her Womb, all Mankind is comforted and relieved.* We have not *Ireneus* his Works in Greek, as they were firſt written. Suppoſe his word he made uſe of, was παράκλητον, you know that ſignifies as well a Comforter as an Advocate. The Virgin *Mary* hath made amends for the tranſgreſſion of her Sex in our Mother *Eve*. This is the ſenſe of that compariſon in the Father.

Phil. What ſenſe you will fix upon his Words, I ſee muſt paſs for currant: *Bellarmin* brings the Teſtimony of Pope *Cornelius*, in the third Century, between whom and S. *Cyprian* there paſs many Letters. In the firſt Epiſtle, concerning the Tranſlation of the Bodies of *Peter* and *Paul*, *à Catatumbis* [c] unto the places where they now lie interr'd, (one in the *Vatican*, the other in via *Oſtienſi*) he hath this paſſage, *Praying unto God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that by the Interceſſion of his two Holy Apoſtles, he would purge you from the ſtains and pollution of your ſins.*

[a] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 19. *ut Virginis Evæ, Virgo Maria fieret Advocata.*

[b] *Quidclarius.*

[c] *Theoph.*

Theoph. You ſee the Praier is directed to God the Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and proves not the Invocation of theſe Apoſtles, but only their Interceſſion. But alas! this Epiſtle manifeſts it ſelf to be counterfeit, one of your Roman Forgeries: the Argument of it, to wit, the tranſlation of theſe Apoſtles Bodies to their place of Burial, is a meer Fiction, [a] as *Binius* doth acknowledg, *That it crept into the Epiſtle from the Lies and Errors of* Damaſus *his Pontifical Book.* And they are conſtrain'd to confeſs the Forgery, becauſe the Apoſtles Corps were remov'd to the places where they now lie, 200 Years before, as appears by the ample Teſtimony of [b] *Gregory* the Great, who gives a full account of their tranſlation, unto the Princeſs *Conſtantia*, *After theſe Bleſſed Apoſtles were Martyr'd in* Rome, *ſome of the Eaſtern Chriſtians came over to carry with them the Sacred Bodies of theſe Martyrs into their own Country; and having born them two miles from* Rome, *they reſted at a place called* Catatumbæ: *and when they attemted to take them up thence, and proceed in their Journey, they were ſo affrighted with dreadful Thundrings and Lightning, and forc'd to deſiſt from their enterprize, and leave the Corps behind them; which the Faithful at* Rome *ſoon brought back, and honorably inter'd in the Tombs wherein they now reſt.* [c] *Baronius* takes notice of all theſe Paſſages, and concludes, *That the Epiſtle of Pope* Cornelius *is not ſo creditable, as the Epiſtle of Pope* Gregory. And now I pray, what think you of this Fable of their tranſlation in the time of *Cornelius*, and of the Epiſtle which relates it: Your Cardinal could not be ignorant of thoſe things: but the Epiſtle, altho groſly forg'd, muſt ſerve to fill up the ſmall number of his early Teſtimonies.

Phil. Bellarmins next Argument is taken out of *Euſebius Cæſarienſis.*

Theoph. I pray make not ſuch haſt, but take me along with you: Methinks you have too paſt over 300 Years of Chriſtianity (for *Euſebius* liv'd in the fourth Century) and produc'd but three Witneſſes, *Dionyſius, Ireneus*, and *Cornelius*, and all falſified or inſignificant: and therefore we will now take it for granted by the Cardinal, That in the three firſt Centuries, the Doctrine of Saints Invocation was not delivered by any good Autority. And now to keep even paces with you, we ſhall find out of Authentic Records of the three firſt Centuries, account given of the Chriſtian Practice in the public Offices, without any Invocation of the Saints departed, by *Juſtin Martyr*, and by *Tertullian*, and other Apologiſts for Chriſtians. And [d] *Ignatius*, a Diſciple of St *John*, directs *Holy Virgins to have Chriſt alone, and the Father before their eyes in their Praiers, being enlightned by the Spirit.* Again, *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *lib.* 4. *c.* 15. ſets down at large the Epiſtle of the Church at

a *Tom.* 1. *In Notis ad hanc Epiſtolam, & in Not. ad vitam Cornelii.*
b *Epiſtolarum lib.* 3. *Epiſtola* 30. *ad Conſtantiam Auguſtam.*
c *Anno Chriſti* 221. *num.* 3, 4, 5, 6.
d *Epiſtola* 6. *ad Philadelph.* Ἁι παρθένοι, μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν, &c.

Smyrna,

Smyrna, to the Churches of *Pontus*, wherein account is given of *Polycarpus* their Holy Biſhops Martyrdom, and of his Praier at the Stake: *O Father of thy well-beloved and Bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt, throwhom we have known thee. O God of the Angels, and Powers, and of all ſorts of juſt Men which live in thy preſence: I thank thee, that thou haſt graciouſly vouchſafed this day and hour, to allot me a portion among the Bleſſed Martyrs, &c.* You ſee here he acknowledgeth the Angels and Juſt Men to ſtand in the preſence of God, yet offers up no Supplications to them. In the ſame Epiſtle there follows a notable paſſage, that the malicious Jews, and others of his Perſecuters, deſir'd the Pro-conſul, not to deliver his Bones to the Chriſtians, leaſt they, leaving Chriſt, ſhould worſhip them. But the Church anſwers, *We can never forſake Chriſt, who died for the Salvation of the World, and we can worſhip none other. The Martyrs we love, as Diſciples and Followers of the Lord; we gather up his Bones after his Body is burnt, more pretious then Pearls, and bury them in a fitting place, where God-willing, we being aſſembled, the Lord will grant that with joy and gladneſs we may celebrate the* [a] *Birth-day of his Martyr*, (the day of his death, being his Birth-day unto Glory) *both for the remembrance of ſuch as have been crowned before, as alſo to the preparation and ſtirring up of ſuch as ſhall ſtrive.* And this early practice continued long in the Church, to aſſemble at the Monuments of the Martyrs, and hold a thankful commemoration of their ſufferings to the Glory of God, and for the encouragement and imitation of the Faithful, both to live and die in the Lord. Here are no tidings of the Invocation of Martyrs.

Phil. Seeing you will ſo exactly canvaſs the three firſt Centuries: I will alſo follow you out of my road, and ſhew how *Origin*, in the third Century, acknowledgeth the Interceſſion of the Saints, and calling upon them for aſſiſtance; and therefore the Doctrine was early receiv'd, altho *Bellarmin* urgeth not the Teſtimony of *Origen*, perhaps becauſe in many things he is Erroneous, and was condemn'd by the fifth General Council, *Juſtinian* the Elder being Emperor.

Theoph. If his Works were condemn'd by a General Council, you cannot then ſay, His Doctrin and his Opinion was receiv'd in the Church: but however, take your courſe, and ſhew where *Origin* teacheth the Invocation of Saints.

Phil. In that notable Lamentation of his, and repentance after he had, thro fear, offer'd Incenſe to an Idol: wherein we have theſe Expreſſions, *I will proſtrate my ſelf, and beſeech all the Saints, That they would ſuccor me, who dare not pray to God.* [b] *O ye Saints of God, I beſeech you*, &c. And leaſt you ſhould pretend he call'd upon the Faithful in the Church, who were then living Members upon Earth, he proceeds, *Wo unto me, Father* Abraham, *intreat for me, that I be not baniſh'd from thy boſom.* A-

[a] Γενέθλιον.

[b] *Sancti Dei vos deprecor, &c.*

gain, in his ſecond Book of his Commentaries upon *Job*, he Praies, *O bleſſed* Job, *pray for us.*

Theoph. 'Tis much your great Champion ſhould let paſs theſe notable Teſtimonies: But he well knew, as *Origens* Teſtimony would not be of any great Autority, ſo that theſe likewiſe are none of his. Pope *Gelaſius* declares *Origens* Lamentation to be Apocryphal, and the Commentary upon *Job* appears to be written by ſome *Arrian* long after *Origen*'s death. And for a farther Confutation, we ſhall find in his Works undoubtedly belonging to him, that altho in ſome places he dubiouſly allows the Interceſſion of the Saints in Heaven for us Mortals, yet he no where approves their Invocation, but rather the contrary: [a] *The Saints departed this life*, ſaith he, *having a great love for thoſe who are in the World; it will be no inconvenience, if we ſay they have a care of our welfare, and do aſſiſt us with their Praiers and Interceſſion with God.* Again, [b] *I am of the Opinion, That all the Fathers who are aſleep before us, are helpful to us by their Praiers.* And yet afterwards he accounts this Opinion of his Apocryphal [c], (as being not manifeſt by good Autority) *If ſuch as are without the Body, and now with Chriſt, do any thing for us after the manner of Angels who are miniſtering Spirits,* [d] *let this, as a Myſtery, be conceal'd, and not publiſh'd and committed to Paper.*

Phil. [e] *Bellarmin* takes notice of this Paſſage out of *Origen*, and anſwers, That he ſpeaks of their daily and conſtant converſe with us, which is not ſo certain, as that they know our ſtate, and Pray for us: whereof *Origen* asks the Queſtion, [f] *Who doubts of it?* That the Saints do help us with their Praiers, and confirm and encourage us by the example of their good Works.

Theoph. By degrees he proceeded from doubting to affirming: and yet the Aſſertion only maintains, That the Saints do pray for us in common, which we have not denied, but himſelf rejects the Conſequence: That becauſe the Saints do pray for us, therefore we ſhould pray to them. [g] For when *Celſus* had objected, That it could not diſpleaſe the Supreme Deity, if inferior Demons, as Friends of God, ſhould be worſhip'd and implor'd to become the Advocates of poor Mortals with him. *Origen* anſwers, That Chriſtians acknowledg no ſuch Demons, but know that the Angels are Gods Miniſters, and the Bleſſed Saints his Friends. And then he proceeds to ſhow the practice of Chriſtians in Invocation: *We humbly preſent our Petitions to the moſt high God, thro his only begotten Son;*

[a] *Hom.* 3. *In Canticum Sol.*
[b] *In cap.* 13. *Joſue, Ego ſic arbitror, &c.*
[c] *Lib.* 2. *In Epiſtolam ad Rom. Non procul à principio.*
[d] *Habeatur inter occultanda myſteria nec chartulæ committenda.*
[e] *Ibid. c.* 20.
[f] *Homil.* 26. *in Numb. Quis dubitet? &c.*
[g] *L.* 8. *Contra Celſum.*

to

to whom alſo we make our Supplications, as being the propitiation for our Sins, and as being our High Prieſt, to offer up our Praiers to God. For God only, ſaith he, *is to be worſhip'd, and God the Word our High Prieſt to be call'd upon, that thoſe Requeſts which come to him, he would pleaſe to preſent unto the Father. If we deſire* (as he goes on) *the favor and aſſiſtance of the Angels, they aſſuredly are Friends to ſuch who imitate their Holineſs, and call upon God with devout hearts, and worſhip him, whom they adore and worſhip.* And therefore he ſheweth the moſt compendious way is to commit our ſelves to the great Ruler of the Creation, thro Chriſt who hath taught us ſo to do; and from him to expect that help and protection, which by the miniſtery of Angels, and by the Spirits of Juſt Men, is communicated to us. And whereas *Celſus* had objected, (as your Doctors, many of them do unto this day) that as in the Courts of Princes we make our Applications firſt to his Nobles and Favorites, to appeaſe his Diſpleaſure and obtain his Favor; ſo in our Addreſs to the moſt High God, we ſhould make our way by the Interceſſion of his choiſeſt Friends and Servants. *Origen* anſwers, "Altho in the Courts of Princes ſo it be, yet "to us, one only God is to be appeas'd with Piety and Virtue, and his "Favor to be deſired: as for the Bleſſed Saints and Angels, their favor "and aſſiſtance follows, [a] as the ſhadow the Body. They love and ſerve "thoſe who are in the favor of God. This I do aſſure you, ſaith he, "when we have propos'd to our ſelves great things and made our Re-"queſt known to God by Prayer and Supplication, All the Heavenly [b] Powers, of their own accord, without our Invocation, do pray with "us and for us. Nothing could more be ſaid againſt the Invocation of Saints and Angels, and the Heavenly Powers: and this I am perſwaded, was the principal reaſon why your Learned Cardinal brought not the Teſtimony of *Origen* to confirm your Praiers to the Saints departed; as others of your unadviſed Doctors have done.

Phil. To proceed: We find in the ſame Century, how *Cyprian*, a Bleſſed Martyr, was ſo far perſwaded of the Saints Interceſſion in Heaven, that as he deſired, in his Epiſtles to him, the Praiers of *Cornelius* the Pope living. So farther, "That he would pleaſe to enter with him "into a ſerious Engagement, That whether of them, by Divine dignation, "ſhould firſt leave the World, he ſhould be mindful to perſevere with "God in fervent Praier for his Brethren, the Faithful, left behind him. "Again, in his Book to the Virgins, he exhorts them, "To hold out cou-"ragiouſly, to proceed Spiritually, and to obtain Happily: and then, "ſaith he, Remember us when your Virginity ſhall receive the Crown.

Theoph. This is an Inſtance of Praier to the living, for their aſſiſtance, when they ſhould be tranſlated into Heaven; but nothing to the Point, of the Invocation of Saints departed. It was his private Opinion, That

[a] Ὥσπερ κινημένην σώματι, &c.

[b] Ἐυχομένοις τῷ θεῷ μυρίας ἄλλαι, &c.

[c] *Tom.* 2. *l. de diſc. Et habitu Virginum ad finem.*

the Saints in Heaven might retain the remembrance and affection towards their Friends and Relations whom they left behind, and commend them particularly in their Praiers; but not distinctly know their condition, or hear their Praiers if they should call upon them: this mutual stipulation before their decease, rather implies, that they conceiv'd they should not have opportunity after ones decease, for the other to call upon him. And now good Friend, having conferr'd notes together about the Testimony of the three first Centuries of Christianity, there appears none for the Invocation of the Saints departed, *not so much as any foot-steps of this Doctrine before Cyprians* [a] say some of your Doctors; and we have not found a word in *Cyprian* that doth confirm it. For a close therefore, we may answer all your Pretensions with our Blessed Saviors words, *Matth.* 18. 8. *but from the beginning it was not so.* And taking in *Tertullians* Rule, [b] *That is truth which is first, what comes after is adulterate.* We may conclude your Doctrine to be innovate, and a fruit of Spiritual Fornication.

Phil. You must not so soon condemn so many of the Primitive Fathers, who have deliver'd this Doctrine, and therefore I pray give your patience to hear their ample Testimony. *Bellarmin* gives this notable Instance out of [c] *Eusebius*, in the fourth Century: *Honoring the Champions of the true Religion as Friends of God; we come to their Tombs, and make Praiers to them as to Holy Men, by whose Intercession we may be much advantag'd.*

Theoph. A notable Instance indeed, to manifest the corruption of Translators, and such as follow them for the advantage of the Cause. *Bellarmin* might have consulted the Greek Copy of the Council of *Calcedon*, and then he would not have bin deceiv'd by the Parenthesis in the Latin Translation, forg'd for the advantage of the Cause, as you have heard before. And so now the Greek Copy of *Eusebius* would have spar'd this proof of Cardinal *Bellarmin*: for *Eusebius* in that Book, having shew'd out of *Plato*, That Men eminent for Virtue should be honored after death, he declares the practice of Christians to be agreeable, *To honor the Champions of Piety and Religion, as Friends of God after their decease:* [d] *Whence*, saith he, *it is our use to frequent their Monuments, and make our Praiers there. We repair to their Tombs, and there make our Praiers*, saith *Eusebius*. And so the Christians did frequent *Memorias Martyrum*, and call upon God in those places. But the Translator, with *Bellarmin*, reads it, *We repair to their Tombs, and pray to them as to Holy Men.* Again, *Eusebius* saith, [e] *We honor these Blessed Souls, and conceive we rationally do so.* But the cousening Translator leaves this passage quite out,

[a] *Martinussius Pere Ne vestigium quidem ante Cyprianum.*

[b] *Id verum quodcunque primum, id Adulterum quad posterius.*

[c] *Lib 3 præpar. Evang c.7, Votaque ipsis facimus, &c.*

[d] Ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας, &c.

[e] Τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακάριας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, &c.

and

and puts in a Clause of his own: *By whose Intercession, we declare our selves to be much assisted with God.* It seems *George Trapezuntius*, a wretched Translator, suited better *Bellarmins* turn, then the Original Text of *Eusebius*, and therefore he chose to consult one rather then the other. We see what reason we have to examine *Bellarmins* Quotations; many times they pretend much, but prove nothing but Imposture.

Phil. Methinks you might satisfie your self with your pretended Confutations, and leave out your uncharitable Censures. I proceed to the Cardinals next Quotation out of the great [a] *Athanasius*, who, with the People of God, puts up these Supplications to the Mother of God: *Incline thine ear unto our Praiers, and forget not thy People. O blessed Virgin, we cry unto thee, Be mindful of us, O our Lady and Mistress, the Queen of Heaven and Mother of God, Intercede for us.*

Theoph. I must confess this is an ample Testimony: But your Cardinal knew very well this Oration was a forgery, falsly ascribed to that Holy Father. It discovers itself to have bin written after the opposite Heresies of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, for it directly confutes them. And Cardinal *Baronius* [b] acknowledgeth what I say, and *Numb.* 23. concludes like an Oracle, giving a just reproof to *Bellarmin*, and the other Doctors who make use of Lies to uphold supposed Truths: [c] *We believe Catholic Truths rather to be weakned by such false Allegations, then supported.* And withal, holy [d] *Athanasius* urgeth this Argument against the *Arrians*, to prove Christs Divinity, *because we call upon him*: and tells us, *That the Saints do not call upon any Created Being to be their help and succor.* And so I hope you apprehend the severity of my Censures to be due, being put to such an intollerable Drudgery to search among the Rubbish of your falsified Records and Quotations; it is the only satisfaction I have, to discover your Impostures, and expose them to censure and undeceive the World.

Phil. Well, now you must take your farewel: These Autorities that follow are without Exception. S[t] *Basil* [e] hath this Passage: *He that is streightned with any necessity, let him fly to them: He that hath occasion to rejoice, let him call upon them; the one that he may be delivered, the other that he may continue in prosperity.*

Theoph. I wish you would make good your words, and bring Quotations fair, and without Exception: For this of *Basil* is ill Translated, meerly for your advantage: [f] *The oppressed flies to these 40 Martyrs*: Tis in the Indicative and not in the Imparative Mood, shewing the Peoples practice, not his precept. But that which follows, shews your Doctors

[a] *Sermone de Annuntiatione ad finem.*
[b] *Anno Christi* 48. *N.* 19. 20.
[c] *Existimamus Cathol. veritatem labefactari potius, &c.*
[d] *Oratione* 2. *contra Arrianos*, Μὴ ὄντα γεννητὸν, &c.
[e] *Oratione in* 40 *Martyres.*
[f] Ὁ θλιβόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα καταφεύγει.

cheat:

cheat: [a] *He that rejoiceth, comes to these, saith* Basil: and you say, Let him pray to these. Now you have heard, it was usual for Men in every condition, to come to the Monuments of the Martyrs, and there call upon God for help, and there offer up their Sacrifices of Praise to him, not to the Martyrs.

Phil. What shift have you for [b] *Basils* next Testimony: *Of the Spiritual Powers, some are call'd Eyes, because they watch over us; some are call'd Ears, because they* [c] *hear and receive our Praiers.*

Theoph. What Praiers? those which are made to them? that doth not appear; rather those Praiers which are made to God, which some of the Antient, from some passages out of the Revelation of St *John*, did conceive the Angels did present to God: How doth this prove the Invocation of Saints?

Phil. The next Testimony *Bellarmin* urgeth, is of *Gregory Nazianzen*, The [d] *Eminent Divine*, as he is generally called: He relates how Saint *Cyprian*, before his Conversion, was a Magician, and falling desperatly in Love with a Christian Virgin, and not being able to obtain her Affection, he made use of Art-Magic, and Enchantments to compass his design: But, saith he, [e] *The Virgin made her Supplication to the Blessed Virgin, to help a Virgin in distress, and so was delivered from the Enchanting Powers.*

Theoph. *Nazianzen* took this Fable out of a Book call'd, *Cyprians Repentance and Conversion*, where 'tis related: and that Book is declared spurious by Pope [f] *Gelasius*. [g] St *Jerome* gives another account of *Cyprians* Conversion, shewing how he was Rhetoric Professor in *Carthage*, and Converted by the acquaintance and perswasion of *Cecilius*, from whom he took the Sir-name, *Cæcilianus Cyprianus*. And *Pamelius*, and many others, who have written *Cyprians* Life, acquit him of this Infamous passage, and *Nazianzen* was strangely credulous to assert it.

Phil. You are alwaies severe against such as do not please you: But *Bellarmin* shews farther, how that Holy Father calls upon *Cyprian* in the end of this Oration; upon *Basil*, in the close of his *Panegyric*; and upon *Athanasius*, in these words, [h] *Do thou graciously look down upon us out of Heaven, and direct this Holy People, and feed and cherish us in peace, and in our conflicts guide and support us, and bring us unto the same state of Glory, with thy Self, and such Blessed Spirits as are like Thee.*

Theoph. *Nazianzen* was a great Orator, and makes such Apostrophe's severally to the Saints upon whom he made his Panegyrics; and yet this

[a] Ὁ εὐφραινόμενος ἐπὶ τούτους ἀποτρέχει.
[b] *In Psalmum* 35.
[c] *Quia nostras excip. preces.*
[d] Ὁ Θεολόγος, *Oratione in Cyprianum.*
[e] Τὴν πάρθενον Μαρίαν ἱκετεύουσα βοηθῆσαι, &c.
[f] *Dist.* 15. *cap. Sancta Rom. Ecclesia.*
[g] *In Catal. Script. Ecclesiast.* Οὐ καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκληρώσατο.
[h] *Oratione in Athanasium.*

will

will not infer, That he did believe they heard him; or that he made this Application to them by way of Invocation, no more then he did to *Julian* the Apoſtate after his deceaſe, unto whom he directs his Speech for a whole Leaf together, in the cloſe of his ſecond Invective. Nay, you ſhall find this Orator ſometimes to correct himſelf by an *Epanorthoſis* in the midſt of his Rhetorical Apoſtrophes, in his firſt Invective againſt *Julian*, in the words of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, he calls upon the Heaven and Earth to hear him: [a] *Hear, O Heaven; and give ear, O Earth.* And then it follows, *Hear O Soul of* Conſtantius *the Great, if there be any ſenſe in thee of theſe inferior things.* In his Fathers Funeral Oration he ſaith, *Now he advantages the Church of God more by his Praiers, then before by his Doctrine and Preaching, if it be not preſumtion to ſay ſo.* And in the Funeral Oration of his Siſter *Gorgonia*, he is more expreſly doubtful, *Whether this honor is given to the Saints departed, as to be ſenſible of thoſe things that are ſpoken of them.*

Phil. [b] *Bellarmin* takes notice of ſuch Paſſages, and ſaith, *Thoſe* ifs, *are not of one doubting but aſſerting*; as when S[t] *Paul* ſaid to *Philemon*: *If thou count me a Partner, receive him as my ſelf*, ver. 17. he did not doubt of *Philemons* affection.

Theoph. The Circumſtances ſhew the contrary, and *Bellarmin* offers no proof of his confident Aſſertion, but only becauſe it may be ſo taken in one place, it muſt be in theſe. If your Doctors groundleſs Shifts and Anſwers muſt go for Oracles, you may carry all before you. For inſtance in the firſt, *If* of *Nazianzen* in his Apoſtrophe to *Conſtantius* after his deceaſe: *Hear, O thou Bleſſed Soul of great* Conſtantius, *If thou haſt any knowledg of theſe things I ſpeak*, &c. Dares *Bellarmin* ſuppoſe that *Conſtantius* did hear *Nazianzen*? Or that he was a Bleſſed Soul in Heaven, who was ſo great a Perſecuter of the Orthodox Chriſtians in his life time, and Protector of the *Arrians*? and upon this account, I much wonder how this Holy Father could make ſuch honorable mention of an *Arrian* Emperor, as to ſtile him, [c] *The moſt famous of Princes that ever were, encreaſing the heritage of Chriſt to his power.* For his zeal of the Orthodox Faith, he is generally ſtiled, *Gregory the Divine.* But here we muſt reckon him to be a vehement Orator, and many of his Sentences muſt be made good only by ſome Figures of Rhetoric, Hyperbolies, Apoſtrophes, and the like.

Phil. Is this your way to anſwer the Fathers: You formerly ſeverely cenſur'd this way in *Bellarmin*, when he ſaid, *Chryſoſtom* in many places ſpoke like an Orator: and do you now fall under the ſame condemnations?

Theoph. I have given an anſwer unto *Bellarmins* Arguments out of *Nazianzen*, and now I make this neceſſary Obſervation to the Reader, for greater caution.

[a] *Ibid.* Ἄκουε οὐρανὲ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου, &c.
[b] *Illudſi, non eſt dubitantis, ſed affirmantis.*

Phil.

Phil. St *Hilary* liv'd in this fourth Century, an eminent Bishop in *France*, who in his Commentary upon the 129 *Psalm*, tells us, *That the Angels are Presidents of Churches.*

Theoph. He brings a strange proof of the Assertion, *Rev.* 21 3. from the Angels of the Churches of *Asia*; which are generally taken by Interpretors, for the Bishops of those Churches: and they cannot possibly stand for the Heavenly Powers and Spirits, because some Infirmities are imputed to them, *Rev.* 2, *ver.* 4. *That the Angel of the Church of* Ephesus, *had left his first love, that he should repent and do his first works. That the Angel of the Church of* Laodicea *was luke-warm*, cap. 3. 16.

Phil. I pray give me leave to urge the whole Testimony of this Father; he saith, *We may in a probable sense call the Angels, The Eyes of the Lord, and his Ears, his Hands, and his Feet; for they are his Ministring Spirits. And altho the Divine Nature, who knoweth all things, need not their information; yet our infirmity in Praing to God, and deserving his favor, needs their Spiritual Intercession.*

Theoph. I pray, How doth the Ministery and Intercession of Angels, prove the Invocation of Saints? Such impertinent Quotations are only brought to fill up the number, and weary the Reader.

Phil. *Bellarmin* shews how the same Holy Father, in *Psal.* 124. speaks alike of the Intercession of the Holy Apostles and Prophets.

Theoph. True, he doth Allegorize the Mountains which stand round about *Jerusalem*, [a] to be *The guard of Saints*; or rather, saith he, *of Angels about Gods People.* But leaving St *Hilaries* Allegories, I pray observe what the Prophet *David* adds immediatly: *As the Mountains stand about* Jerusalem, *so the Lord is round about his People from henceforth even for ever.* And *Hilary* thereupon declares, [b] *The safe-guard of the Angels is good; but of God, much better.* Mean while, here is not one syllable of our Invocation of Saints or Angels, but only of their Intercession and Protection. And by the way, you may take this note along with you, That *Hilary* was as bitter in his Invectives, and had as great an indignation against the Emperor *Constantius*, as you but now heard *Gregory Nazianzen* did extol him.

Phil. It is not my work to commit the Fathers: I proceed in *Bellarmins* proofs, his next, out of St *Ambrose*, is full and without Exception. "We must pray unto the Angels, who are our Guards; and to the Saints "and Martyrs, whose Patronage we may challenge, as being of our "own Substance: they can intreat for our sins, who have washt away "their own (if any they had) with their Blood. These are Gods Mar- "tyrs and our Bishops, Over-seers of our Life and Actions: let us not

[a] *Nec leve præsidium in Apostolis vel Patriarchis & Prophetis, vel patris in Ang.*

[b] *Bonum quidem præsidium Angeli, sed melius Dei.*

[c] *Lib. de Viduis ultra medium. Obsecrandi sunt Ang. &c. Obs. sunt Martyres Corporis pignora.*

blush

"blush to admit theſe as Interceſſors for our infirmities becauſe They "when they did overcome, were yet ſenſible of the infirmity of the "body.

Theoph. Saint *Ambroſe* was but a young Divine, a novice and Cathechumen when he was choſen Bishop of *Millain*: he was train'd up in Civill affairs, pleading Cauſes, & as a Deputy of the Country adminiſtring juſtice; & therfore we have no teaſon to ground our Faith upon his dictates. He ſpeaks often piouſly, but not alwaies Orthodoxly: do you allow that paſſage of his in this very proof? [a] "The Martyrs, "if they had any ſins, have washt them away with their own Blood. The Bleſſed Apoſtle tells us, 1 Joh. 1. *The Blood of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth from all unrighteouſneſs.* Immediatly before theſe words which Bellarmin quotes, S. Ambroſe hath this paſſage. [b] "The flesh is weak, the mind "ſick, and feter'd with the chains of ſin; and ſo we cannot creep to the "Phyſician, but muſt call upon the Angels and Martyrs, *&c.* Where do you read in H. Scripture, that the ſick, to wit, the ſinner cannot come to Chriſt the Phyſitian? did he not come *to call ſinners*, to invite *the weary and heavy laden to come to him, and find reſt*? you ſhall hear other Fathers generally contradicting this Doctrine of *Ambroſe*, and the Holy Scripture much more; yet this is the uſual pretence for Saints Invocation and Interceſſion, That we are unworthy of our ſelves to draw neer to an Holy God, & to put up our ſupplications to him: of which more hereafter, & herein S. *Ambroſe* contradicts what he hath piouſly commented upon the firſt chap. of the Epiſtle to the *Rom.* in the 4. chap. of his Commentary. [c] "This is the miſerable excuſe, ſaith he, that by "Angels and Saints, we may have acceſs to God, being unworthy of "our ſelves to come unto him, as we go to the King by his Courtiers. For which he anſwers, [d] "Therefore we come to the King by his Tri-"bunes and Officers, becauſe the King is a man, and muſt receive in-"formation from others: but to obtain the favor of God; who knoweth "all mens deſerts, we need no ſuffragants but a devout mind: whenſo-"ever ſuch a one calls upon Him, he will anſwer him. Nothing could be more directly oppos'd to your uſuall plea for the Invocation of Saints. The ſame Father in his book *de Iſaac. & Anima* cap. 5 tells us from the third chap. of *Canticles*, and the third verſ. [e] "That a Soul "ſeeking God paſſeth by the keepers, for there are myſteries which the "Angels them ſelves deſire to looke into.

Phil. Do you then follow S. *Ambroſe*'s direction in one place, and I

[a] *Qui proprio ſanguine laverunt, ſi qua habuerunt peccata.*

[b] *Infirma eſt caro, mens ægra, & ad Medici ſedem non poteſt debile explicare veſtigium.*

[c] *Solent miſerè uti excuſatione, per iſtos poſſe ire ad Deum, ut per Comites ad Reg.*

[d] *Ideo per Tribunos & Comites, itur ad Regem, quia homo eſt, &c. Ad Deum a promerendum, qui omnium novit merita, ſuffragatore opus non eſt, ſed mente devotâ.*

[e] *Anima quæ Deum quærit tranſit cuſtodes, enim ſunt myſteria quæ etiam Ang. concupiſcunt videre.*

will take his adviſe in the other. *Bellarmin* brings the teſtimony of many other Fathers of the later Ages of the Church; and I muſt confeſs I am almoſt tired in following him, eſpecially ſeeing you ſo dextriouſly ſhift him off. *Gregory Nyſſen* ſpeaks home to the point in the latter end of his Oration upon *Theodorus* a Martyr, thus: "We want many benefits, "doe thou become our Legat with the King of Heaven. Thou art not "ignorant of humane neceſſities, procure peace for us. That we have "bin ſafe and ſound hitherto we aſcribe it to thee. If you want more "aſſiſtance take in the quire of your Brethren the Martyrs. The praiers "of many Saints wash away the ſins of Nations and People. In the like manner he ſpeaks in his Panegyricks of another Martyr.

Theoph. This is ſufficient to your purpoſe; you need look no further. But I pray tell me, do you take him for an Orator or Divine in theſe paſſages? Is it poſſible he ſhould in earneſt aſcribe the preſervation of the Faithfull all along unto this Martyr, & hope for ſecurity from him for the future? and never take into conſideration the divine protection? Is it good Divinity to ſay, That the praiers of the Juſt wash away the guilt of Nations and People, and never mention the Blood of Chriſt, and his effectuall Interceſſion?

Phil. That is to be ſuppos'd as the principall; the Bleſſed Saints may be inſtrumentall in theſe Bleſſings.

Theoph. What you ſuppoſe is one thing, and what he expreſſeth another. But it is neither good Philoſophie nor Divinity, to intitle the effect unto the Inſtruments, and leave out the principall Agent. Should I make ſuch an harangue to an Artiſts Tooles, & give them all the honor of the excellent work, he would reckon me beſides my wits, and himſelf put beſides his due commendation & praiſe.

Phil. You ask Queſtions inſtead of giving Anſwers. But I have now concluded to favor you, and not overlade you with innumerable teſtimonies. The Authority of the later Fathers perhaps you will except againſt in this point. Such as *Bede*, and *Anſelme*, & *Bernard* & *Damaſcene*; & the Elder I have hitherto produc'd, and yet there remaine two of the Greek Church, and two of the Latin Church whoſe Authorities I will urge out of *Bellarmin* in confirmation of this point, & then I ſhall give you reſpite. The Greek Fathers are *Chryſoſtome* and *Theodoret*; the Latin *Jerom*, and *Auguſtin*.

Theoph. You have made a noble choiſe, & herein you much obligo me: (whilſt your wiſdom, and your zeal do prompt you to urge the moſt effectuall teſtimonies on your ſide) that you determine to let the others paſſe, which cheifly ſerve to fill up a number.

Phil. Bellarmin quotes an eminent paſſage out of [a] *Chryſoſtom*, but we eaſier find it in his 26 Homilie upon the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, from whence we ſuppoſe the Homilie was collected; it is in the Η'ϛορ of that Homilie. The words out of *Chryſoſtom* are theſe. "He that weareth purple goes and ſalutes the ſacred bodies, and laying "aſide his ſtate [b] ſtands praying unto the Saints, that they would appear

[a] *Homil. 66 ad pop. Antioch.* [b] ἵστηκε δεόμενος τῶν ἁγίων ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξωσιν &c.

"before

"before God in his behalf. He that weareth the Diadem beeſcecheth the "Tent-maker and Fisherman being dead, to become his Advocates.

Theoph. This is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, a paſſage whereunto we find not a ſecond like it in all the works of *Chryſoſtom*. *Bellarmine* refers to other places of this Father: but (according to his accouſtum'd manner) without truth and reaſon. It is ſtrange therefore if he were of the opinion, & the practice in his daies was uſual to pray to the Saints before their shrines that any where elſe he ſhould not ſpeak of it.; and therefore I muſt tell you that the originall Greek doth not altogether warrant *Bellarmin's* tranſlation, but equally admits another, which will fall short of his proof. For δεόμενος τῶν ἁγίων, as well ſignifies *ſtanding in need of the Saints Interceſſion*, as praying for it; and ſo δεῖται ἀσυτῶν, *He wants their protection*. Now we may ſtand in need, and may reap the benefit of the Saints ſupplications in Heaven for the people of God here on earth, & yet have no warrant to call upon them, except we could be better aſſur'd that they do hear us. This therefore is a fallible and ambiguous proof, unleſs ratified by ſome other paſſages out of *Chryſoſtom*.

Phil. The Cardinal refers to other places in that Father for the ſame proof.

Theoph. He doth ſo to his great ſhame and diſadvantage; to the demonſtration of his ſupineſs, not of the point. He ſends us to *Chryſoſtoms* fift Homilie upon St *Matthew*; where the Holy Father in his Homily, in the application or Moral upon the text, preſſeth much upon us the duty of being ſober and watchfull in praier to God for our ſelves, and not depend upon the praiers of others. "For no man may deliver "his Brother, nor make agreement to God for him. *Pſ.* 49. 7. He inſtanceth in *Moſes* that could not prevail for *Miriam*, nor *Samuel* for *Saul*, nor *Jeremy* for his People. [c] "If we our ſelves be negligent, others can-"not help us: if we be watchfull we may prevail for our ſelves more "then by others Interceſſion. For God chooſeth rather to give his bleſſings "to us for our ſelves, then for others praying for us. For ſo, ſaies he, "he had compaſſion upon the Canaanitish woman, & ſaved the harlot "& Theif, [d] none mediating or playing the Advocate to God for them. Would any ſober man believe *Bellarmin* ſhould direct us unto this Homilie for the proof and encouragment unto the Invocation of Saints departed?

Phil. Perhaps he reflected upon *Chryſoſtom's* next word in that Homilie. [e] "I ſpeak theſe things, not that we ſhould not deſire the praiers of "the Saints, but that our ſelves ſhould not be ſlothfull. He would not diſcourage men from ſuing to the Saints.

Theoph. To the Saints living, not the deceaſed. All his inſtances in the Homilie ſhew this, in *Samuel's* praying for *Saul*, and *Moſes* for *Mi-*

[c] Ἐὰν ῥαθυμῶμεν αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐκεῖνον δυνησόμενοι ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐὰν ἐφῶμεν ἑαυτοῖς, &c.

[d] Οὐδενὸς παραιτήσαντος μεσίτου & ἀντιτάξαντος.

[e] Ταῦτα λέγω οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ἐκζητῶμεν τοὺς ἁγίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ῥαθυμῶμεν.

riam, and their praiers were unſucceſsfull, becauſe the perſons for whom they prai'd were not worthy. In the next place your Cardinal ſends us to the eight Homilie, where there is not a ſyllable for his purpoſe. There in his Ὁμιλία he ſhews, "That neither the iniquity of our Fathers, nor "of the place wherein we live ſhall hinder us in the courſe of Vertue, "if we will take heed unto our ſelves. As *Joſeph* lived vertuouſly in Egypt, "and the three Children in *Babylon*, and *Hezekiah* was a good Son of "wicked *Ahaz*, and *Abraham* of *Terah* an Idolater. If this proves the Invocation of Saints, let it be ſo. In the next place we follow him unto *Chryſoſtoms* 43 Homilie upon *Geneſis*, where we have the former Text. "No man may deliver his brother, *&c.* if we neglect our ſelves, neither "Father nor Kinſman can ſtead us, no not the Saints & righteous men "who have great confidence with God. Only a *Jeſuit*'s chymical brain can extract the Invocation of Saints out of theſe paſſages of *Chryſoſtom*. Come we now to the next place of *Chryſoſtom* whether *Bellarmin* refers us, to his firſt Homilie upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*: There the good Father exhorteth us in his Ὁμιλία to be watchfull and ſollicitous for our ſelves, and then others praiers alſo may benefit us. [f] "Tis good, "ſaith he, to enjoy the prayes of the Saints, but when we are co-"workers with them. Where he evidently ſpeaks of the praiers of the living for us, inſtancing in *Peters* deliverance out of priſon, *thro the fervent praiers of the Church*, Act. 12. and in *Pauls* deſire the Saints ſhould *contend in praier for him*, Phil. 1. 19. And now tell me, is not this a great deceit & cheat upon the Reader, when the good Father ſpeaks of the praiers of the Saints living which we ſhould deſire, for Bellarmin to transfer it unto the praiers of the Saints departed? In the laſt place your Cardinal ſends us unto *Chryſoſtoms* Panegyrick upon two Martyrs, *Jubentius* and *Maximinus*, tom. 5. And I ſuppoſe he had an eye unto that paſſage of the Father. "As Souldiers ſhewing their wounds receiv'd in warr, appear "with great confidence before the General or their Prince, ſo theſe Bleſſed "Martyrs preſenting their heads, which were cut off, in their hands, "may eaſily obtain what they ſhall deſire of the King of Heaven. Now from hence what would you infer?

Phil. That as they can prevail much with God, we ſhould the more importunatly beg the favour of their Interceſſion.

Theoph. Why did not the Holy Father make that inference himſelf? or make his Application to them in praier? we ſay, becauſe he did not approve the doctrine of praiers to the Saints in Heaven. All that he exhorts his hearers unto in the cloſe of his Panegyrick is this: "To go "unto the Monuments of theſe Martyrs with faith and joy, that by the "ſight of their ſhrines, and remembrance of their glorious ſufferings they "may reap much fruit, and ſo live, That they may ſhare in their hap-"pineſs. Would he not have encouraged the people of God to pray unto theſe Martyrs, if he had thought it beneficial or duty? And now I begin to underſtand, That when your ſubtle Cardinal refers to a place

[f] Καλὸν τὴν χαρὰν ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ἁγίων, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐ αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, *&c.*

by

by figures, & quotes not the words at length; he well knew they would not serve his turn: only to impose upon the credulous Reader, either to believe him, or to be put to an endless trouble in the search & discovery. But I have bin content to devour this trouble, & have with great indignation found him a deceiver: and and yet before I leave St *Chrysostom*, I will refer you to one of [g] his Homilies; where in the Ἠθικὸν from the history of the Canaanitish woman, he shews, [h] "That we prevail "most with God by our own praiers, rather then others Intercessions. "The Apostles, saith he, interpos'd for that woman; but our Saviours "answer was a deniall: I am not sent but unto the lost Sheep of Israel, "but her own importunity prevail'd for her daughters recovery, which "was the sum of her desire. There *Chrysostom* expresly tells us, Thou "hast no need of Mediators with God, to fawn upon others to pray "for thee: but if thou art destitute of all Protectors, thy self by thy "self, calling upon God shalt thou obtain all canst desire. He will not grant unto us, upon the request of others, so as upon our own. He puts the objection which your Doctors usually propose, That we are not worthy to appear in the Lords presence. [i] "What saist thou? art "thou unworthy? become worthy by thy perseverance in praier to God. "Our Blessed Saviour, saith he, compar'd the woman of Canaan to a "Dog, unto whom the Childrens bread must not be given; and yet soon "after he cry'd out, O woman, great is thy faith.

Phil. You may as well urge these like passages of *Chrysostom* against the Mediation and Intercession of Christ, and against any desire, That the Faithfull living should assist us with their praiers.

Theoph. You should not join together the Mediation & Intercession of Christ, and of the Saints whether in Heaven or Earth. And you may observe the Father speaks of [k] Intercessors in the plural, as of many. Implying That *one* is our *Mediator between God and men, even the Man Christ Jesus.* 1 Tim. 2. 5. And withall the Testimony is sufficient against that fond conceit, That we are unworthy to draw neer to God in our own persons, but by others Intercession.

Phil. You will draw out your discourse in *infinitum* by your rejoinders and remarks, but I hast to an end. The second Greek Father I propos'd was *Theodoret*, a Learned Bishop of *Cyprus*, who in his History of the Lives of Holy Fathers, concludes each Life after this manner: "[l] I, putting a period to this relation and history, do pray and beseech, "that by the Intercession of these Saints, I may obtaine Divine assi-"stance.

Theoph. It is not here exprest that he did pray unto these Saints, but we rather suppose to God, upon the opinion of their Intercession, That he might reap the benefit therof; & withall he was infected with the heresy

[g] *Tom.* 5. *Hom.* 60.

[h] Οὐ χρεία σοι μεσιτῶν ἐπὶ θεοῦ, τοῦ κολακεῦσαι ἑτέρους, &c.

[i] Ἀλλ' ἀνάξιος εἶ. γένου προσεδρείᾳ ἄξιος.

[k] Οὐ χρεία μεσιτῶν, ἐ τοῦ κολακεῦσαι ἑτέρους.

[l] *Huic narrationi finem imponens, rogo ut per horum interceſſ. div. conſ. auxil.*

of *Nestorius*, and wrote bitterly against *Cyrill* of *Alexanria* his twelve Theses: and that work of his was condemn'd in the fift general Council; and himself thro the violence of oppositions, was compell'd against his judgment to pronounce *Nestorius* accurs'd: yet we honor his great Learning, and let his memory be precious.

Phil. I am glad to discover your moderation, for there is another most considerable testimony out of him, full to the point of Saints Invocation. [m] "The Temples of the Martyrs are magnificent & beautifull, in them we often keep festivals; & such as enjoy health, pray "to the Martyrs to preserve it; such as are sick desire health of them: "Men and Women who are unfruitfull, ask of them Children: Such "as go a journey desire their conduct, and after their safe return they "pay their thanks to them, owing their security to their favour. Now, "saies he, they do not pray to these Martyrs as to God, but as unto "Holy men whose Intercession they desire, and that they often obtain'd "their requests; the numerous gifts devoted to these Martyrs do testify, "hanging up in the Martyrs Temples the pictures of theirs eyes and "hands and legs, in gold, which their votaries recover'd by their merits, "and praiers, and Intercession.

Theoph. These are high things, and great assignments unto the Martyrs. Methinks there should of right have bin som reflexions upon God in these deliverances and cures, & sure there was somthing in the wind that *Bellarmin* only refers to this passage, and doth not set it down in full length; being so full to his purpose. (in the 18th chap. he hath part of this quotations, but not the whole.) Perhaps the Cardinal was not fully satisfied with the person of *Theodoret*: or rather with the book it self, which [n] *Nicephorus* doth not reckon up among *Theodoret's* Works, when he gives an account of all his books; these 8 books *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, are not mentioned. [o] *Those which he wrote are these, &c.* And withall your Learned *Cardinal* knew well, That what *Theodoret* (if this book were his) did build with one hand, he pull'd down with another, as to this point of Invocation of Saints or Angels: For in his Commentary upon the 2d chap. of St Paul to the *Colossians*, vers. 18, *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of Angels.* I say, *Theodoret* in his Commentary upon this place, cuts off the sinews and foundation of Saints and Angels Invocation. He shews how some Jewish Christians in *Phrygia* and *Pisidia* being zelous of the Laws, did worship Angels, by whom the Law was given, and build Temples to St Michael and others; and that this course continued long among them. [p] And therfore that in the 4th Century, a Council of Bishops in *Laodicea* the Metropolis of *Phrygia*, neer neighbor to

[m] *Libro* 8. *De curandis Græc. affectibus.*

[n] *Niceph. l.* 44. *c.* 54.

[o] ἀδὲ συνεγράψατο ταύτα ἐστι, &c.

[p] *Bin. Concil. Laod. Tom.* 1. *can.* 35. Οὐ δεῖ χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν, &c.

Colosse,

Coloſſe, did expreſly forbid the worship of Angels, calling it Idolatrie. "That Chriſtians ought not to leave the Church of God, and depart "and call upon the Angels, and make aſſemblies; and if any be found "to be converſant in this hidden Idolatrie, let him be accurſed. Now this *voluntary humility* which St Paul mentions, refers to that humble pretence, That ſinners are not worthy to draw neer to God themſelves, but by the Interceſſion of Saints & Angels. *Intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puft up in his fleshly mind*, ſaith the Apoſtle. That is, ſaith Theodoret, [a] *uſing his own reaſon and imaginations, &c. now* (ſaith he) *the* [b] *Synod of Laodicea deſiring to cure this old diſeaſe forbids them to pray unto Angels.* And you will grant if we muſt not pray to Angels, neither to the Saints. For you have deriv'd cheifly the Invocation of Saints from that of Angels.

Phil. [c] *Bellarmin* hath anſwer'd this paſſage of *Theodoret*, and of the Council of *Laodicea*, and the Text of the Apoſtle together. Namely [d] That *the Apoſtle condemns the hereſie of Simon Magus, who taught, like Plato, that the Angels ſhould be worſhipt as leſſer Deities, and that none could pleaſe the inviſible God but by the Angels.* And he tells us *That the Council* [e] *did not condemn all worſhip of Angels, but only ſuch veneration as is proper to God.*

Theoph. Obſerve the incongruity of this Anſwer, as to ſeveral particulars. He ſaith the Council condemns not all Veneration of Angels, but only ſuch as is proper to God the ſupreme Deity: and yet according to his own relation, *Simon Magus*, and the Jewiſh Chriſtians that worſhipt Angels, did not worship them as the Supreme Deity, but only as ſubordinate Interceſſors. And St Paul and the Council of *Laodicea* condemns this: *That in voluntary humility they ſhould deprive themſelves of that priviledg to come to God themſelves, and ſo make way unto him by the Interceſſion of Angels.* The Apoſtle therefore and the Council forbid this inferior worship, as Theodoret obſerves, [f] *That they ſhould not pray to the Angels to make way for them unto the Great God.* And in the next chap. of S. Paul to the *Coloſſians*, verſ. 17. the Apoſtle commanding us *Whatſoever we do either in word or deed to do all in the name of our Lord Jeſus, giving thanks to God, and the Father by him.* Theodorets Comment is, [g] *Offer up to God your ſacrifice of praiſe by Him, not by the Angels.* Again we find not one ſyllable either in Theodoret, or the Council of *Laodicea* concerning *Simon Magus* or his hereſie, but only thoſe Chriſtians which did worship and pray to Angels. To conclude this Anſwer, It is the miſerable device of the Schools to ſhift off evident & unanſwerable ar-

[a] *Propriis utens rationibus & cogitationibus.*
[b] *Synodus volens veteri illi morbo mederi, cavit ne precarentur Angelos.*
[c] *Ibid. cap.* 20.
[d] *Apoſtolum damnare hæreſin Simonis Magi, qui docuit Angelos quaſi minores, &c.*
[e] *Concilium non damnat quamvis venerationem Ang. ſed quæ Deo propria.*
[f] *Ne precarentur Angelos.*
[g] *Deo & Patri gratiarum actionem mittite, per ipſum, non per Angelos.*

guments,

guments, with obſcure and frivolous diſtinctions, giving no reall ſatisfaction either to them ſelves or others. So in the point of Image worship, They did not give to them the worship of Λατρεία which apparteins only to God: but an inferior worship call'd Δουλία: or if any were ſo bold to maintaine, That Λατρεία is due to the Croſs, or the Image of *Chriſt*, yet it is in a relative and inferior manner. So here the Council condemns not all Veneration of Angels, but only ſuch as is due to God. Whereas the circumſtances you have heard prove the contrary. "The Councel forbids Invocation of Angels, as Interceſſors for us to "the ſupreme Deity.

Phil. You will never I ſee receive any ſatisfaction from us. I proceed unto the two Eminent Fathers of the Latin Church. *Bellarmin* urgeth That prayer of S. *Jerom* in the end of his Epitaph or Panegyrick upon *Paula*. [a] *Farewell ô Paula, and aſſiſt with thy praiers the extream old age of thy worshipper.*

Theoph. From other evident paſſages of that Father, we conclude This to be a Rhetorical Apoſtrophe, and not the judgment & practiſe of S. *Jerom* to pray unto the Saints departed. For in his book againſt *Vigilantius*, he firſt aſſerts, That Martyrs are not to be worshipt. [b] *Whoever worshipt them?*

Phil. Althou they are not worshipt as God, yet we may pray unto them.

Theoph. Praier is a part of religious worship due to God, if you mean only civil requeſts, ſuch as one Chriſtian makes to another to remember him in his praiers, we would not deny it to the Saints in Heaven, could we be aſſur'd that they do hear us. But to proceed, *Jerom* doth not bring one ſyllable to aſſert the Invocation of Saints; altho, if his judgment had inclin'd the ballance that way, he had occaſion given by *Vigilantius*, whoſe Aſſertion was, *That while we live we may pray one for another*, [c] *but none praies for other after death.* Againſt this *Jerom* riſeth with great indignatien: *If the bleſſed Apoſtles and Martyrs while in the flesh could pray for others, how much more after they are crown'd?* [d] *ſhall they prevail leſs with Chriſt now they are with him?* This is ſomewhat for their Interceſſion, but not for their Invocation. Nay, in his funeral Oration upon *Nepotian* dedicated to *Heliodorus*, *Jerom* ſaith expreſly: [e] *Whatſoever I ſay of him tis but ſilence, ſeeing he heareth not.* And in the cloſe of the Oration, he ſaith: [f] *Seeing we cannot ſpeak to him or with him, let us never ceaſe to ſpeak of him*; now making praiers to the deceaſed is ſpeaking to them, and not of them.

Phil. If I ſhould multiply Replies to your anſwers we ſhould never conclude. I haſt unto the teſtimony of S. *Auguſtin*. *Bellarmin* quotes 3

[a] *Vale ô Paula, & Cultoris tui ultimam ſenectutem orationibus juva.*
[b] *Quis aliquando Martyres adoravit?*
[c] *Poſt mortem nullus audet pro aliis deprecari.*
[d] *Poſtquam cum Chriſto eſſe ceperint minus valebunt?*
[e] *Quicquid dixero, quia ille non audit, mutum videtur.*
[f] *Cum quo loqui non poſſumus, de eo loqui nunquam deſinamus.*

places

places out of this Holy Father, to prove the Invocation of Saints: [a] *We do not ſo commemorate Martyrs, at the Holy Table, as we do others who reſt in peace, ſo as to pray for them, but rather that they may pray for us.*. And the ſecond place is like unto it, *De verbis Apoſtolorum, Serm.* 17. [b] *It is an injury to pray for a Martyr, unto whoſe Praiers we ſhould be commended.*

Theoph. In theſe two parallel paſſages, S[t] *Auguſtin* ſhews, That the Commemoration of the Martyrs at the Altar in the time of Divine Service, muſt not be conſtrued a Praier for them (for that would be an injury to them) but rather a tacite recommendation of the Congregation, unto their Praiers and Interceſſion. Here is no Invocation expreſt, but only a recommendation implied, and ſo they are dubious and imperfect proofs: and in the firſt he ſpeaks only comparatively, That Martyrs ſhould rather pray for us, then we for them. And yet withal I muſt acquaint you, That *Epiphanius* a Primitive Biſhop (who did much oppoſe the growing Superſtition of Worſhipping Saints and Images, both by his Writings and Actions) [c] he expreſly tells us, *We pray for Martyrs, and for the whole Order of Bleſſed Saints*, &c. *That ſo we may diſtinguiſh the Lord Chriſt from all generations of Men.*

Phil. Make what uſe of your Obſervations you pleaſe. I paſs to the third Teſtimony, which *Bellarmin* brings from S[t] [d] *Auguſtin, I do not ſee what advantage to the dead is the care of their Friends to bury them near the Tomb of ſome Martyr; unleſs herein, That whil'ſt they remember where the Bodies of their Friends do lie, they may commend them unto thoſe Saints as Patrons, to be aſſiſted by their Praiers.*

Theoph. Notwithſtanding this Teſtimony, we ſhall willingly be tried by this Book, concerning S[t] *Auguſtins* Judgment in the point of Praying to the Saints: And I will therefore give you a ſhort account of the whole Book. In the beginning, S[t] *Auguſtin* ſhews how he was conſulted by *Paulinus* a Biſhop, whether it was any advantage to the Dead, to be buried in the Temple, or near the Monument of a Saint or Martyr: The occaſion was given by a Pious Matron, *Flora*, who was very importunate to have her Son *Cynegius* buried in the Temple of S[t] *Felix*. Hereunto S[t] *Auguſtin* anſwers, That it is no part of our Miſery, if our Bodies ſhould not be Interr'd, but expos'd, by the Tyranny of Perſecutors, unto the Fouls of the Air, or to the Beaſts of the Field: *For*, ſaith he, *our Bleſſed Savior ſaith expreſly, That after Man hath kill'd the Body, he can do no more, not hurt the perſon after death.* And when the Bodies of Martyrs were not permitted Burial, it was no part of their Infelicity, but only ſhew'd the cruelty of Tyrants, *That ſo Chriſtians, who contemn'd death, might learn much more to contemn their Burial.* He

[a] *Tract.* 84. *in Joannem. Non ſic Mart. ad Menſam commemoramus*, &c.
[b] *Injuria eſt pro Mart. orare, cujus nos debemus Orat. commendari.*
[c] *Hereſi* 75. Υπερ δικαιων, & μαρτυρων, &c.
[d] *Lib. de cura pro Mortuis*, c. 4. *Niſi ad hoc, ut dum recolunt ubi ſunt*, &c.

ſhews, *That Funeral Solemnities, are* [a] *rather comforts to the living, then aſſiſtances to the dead.* And then coming near unto the Queſtion, touching the advantage of being buried in a Martyrs Temple: He anſwers in thoſe words which *Bellarmin* cites, I ſee not how ſuch a proviſion can benefit the Perſon deceas'd, unleſs herein, That whil'ſt his Friends remember where his Body lies Interr'd, they may be apt to commend him to the Patronage of that Saint for aſſiſtance with God.

Phil. This plainly proves the particular Invocation of Saints departed.

Theoph. Have patience, and S[t] *Auguſtin* in the next Chapter, will ſhew what he meant by this recommendation. The pious Mother, ſaith he, did deſire her Son ſhould be buried in the Martyrs Temple, believing that ſo his Soul ſhould reap ſome benefit from the Martyrs merits: And then he immediatly adds, [b] *This belief of hers was a kind of Praier, and if any thing did profit her Son, This was it.* You plainly ſee how doubtfully the good Father ſpeaks concerning the benefit of burial near a Martyr; and how he expreſly interprets praying to the Saint, to be, our believing that by his Merits we ſhall reap ſome advantage to our Souls. He proceeds in that Book to ſhew, That altho there have bin appearances of Ghoſts, complaining, That their Bodies did lie unburied; yet theſe things may come to paſs by Divine permiſſion, thro the Miniſtry of good or evil Angels: the Spirit departed knowing nothing of the Apparition. He gives an Inſtance of an Executor, who after his Fathers deceaſe, was much diſtreſſed with the demand of a great Debt, which was ſuppoſ'd to have bin paid; but having no Diſcharge to ſhew, it was like to lie upon him: Mean-while, his Father appears to him, and directs him to the place where he ſhould find the Acquittance, and a full diſcharge of the Debt. Now by this Apparition, Men may be apt to conclude, That the deceas'd Father underſtood and compaſſionated his Sons condition, and came to his relief; and yet, ſaith S[t] *Auguſtin, All this might come to paſs by Divine Providence, without his deceaſed Fathers knowledge*: And gives an Inſtance of himſelf, appearing to a Friend of his in his Dream, whil'ſt himſelf knew nothing of it. *Eulogius* was to read a ſolemn Lecture before a great Auditory in *Carthage*, upon *Tullies* Rhetoric; and one obſcure paſſage there was which he did not well underſtand, and was very ſolicitous how to interpret it: *And lo! the night before*, ſaith S[t] *Auguſtine*, as Eulogius *declares, I appeared to him in his Dream, and ſhew'd him an appoſite ſenſe of the Words.* This is in the 11th *Chapter* of the Book. In the 13th *Chap.* he concludes, That of ſuch Apparitions, whether of Perſons living or defunct, are made to others, themſelves being altogether ignorant thereof. And he concludes farther, *That there is no commerce between the living and the dead, for otherwiſe*, ſaith he, *my moſt deer Mother would have often appear'd to me, and*

[a] *Magis ſunt vivorum ſolatia quam ſubſidia Mortuorum.*

[b] *Hoc quod ita credidit ſuppli catio, &c.* mani-

manifeſted her care and love; for God forbid, That I ſhould think ſhe is become cruel by her ſtate of Happineſs. And if our Parents and neareſt Friends have no communion with us after death, How ſhould others that are Strangers. St *Auguſtin* goes on to tell us, That the Children of *Abraham* expreſly ſay to God, *Iſaiah* 63. 16. *Surely thou art our Father, altho* Abraham *be ignorant of us, and* Iſrael *acknowledge us not. That* Joſiah *was gathered to his Fathers, that his eyes might not ſee the evil which ſhould be brought upon* Jeruſalem, 2 *Kings* 22. 20. implying, That after death he ſhould not know it. *Therefore,* ſaith he, [b] *The Souls of dead Men are where they do not ſee what things are done here below; And how then can they ſee their own Tombs?* And whereas *Abraham* did know *Moſes*, and the Prophets, and their Writings, when he directed *Dives* his Brethren unto them, *He might know them,* ſaith he, *by their own Relation after their deceaſe.* In the 15th *Chapter* he concludes fully, [c] *We muſt confeſs that the dead do not know what is here done, unleſs ſomthing may be made known to them by the relation of Angels, or perſons lately deceas'd.* And whereas, ſaith he, at the Shrines and Monuments of Martyrs, Miracles have bin wrought, and Martyrs themſelves have appear'd to the living, yet they might not themſelves know that they did appear; as we read, That *Ananias* appear'd to *Saul* in *Damaſcus*, himſelf knowing not of it, until the Lord acquainted him therewith, "The Lord ſaid unto *Ananias*, Acts 9. 11, 12. "Ariſe, and go into the ſtreet which is called, Strait; and "enquire in the Houſe of *Judas*, for one called *Saul* of *Tarſus*: for be- "hold he Praieth, and hath ſeen in a Viſion a Man named *Ananias*, com- "ing in, and putting his hand on him, that he might receive his ſight. At length he concludes, [d] "Such Miracles at the Shrines of Martyrs may "be done, by Gods permiſſion, thro the Miniſtry of Angels and Holy "Powers, in honor of the Saints, and for the benefit of Men; the "Saints themſelves being enter'd into the higheſt reſt, and attending un- "to more excellent things, being ſequeſtred from us, and praying "for us.

Phil. St *Auguſtin* acknowledgeth, you ſee, that the Saints and Martyrs do pray for us.

Theoph. Yes in general, as he expreſſeth it in the 16th *Chap.* [e] "They "being remov'd from the ſociety of Mortals, in a place ſuitable to their "merits; and yet in general, praying for the indigency of poor Sup- "plicants: As we pray for the dead, with whom we are not preſent, "neither know we where they are, or what they do. Thus have I given an account of St *Auguſtins* Judgment out of this Book, to ſhew, That he did not believe the Saints departed knew our conditions, or that Praiers were to be made to them. That which he mentions concerning the Prai-

[b] *Ibi ſunt Spiritus defuncti ubi non vident quæ hic aguntur, &c.*
[c] *Fatendum eſt Neſcire Mortuos, quid hic agatur.*
[d] *An illa fiunt Dei nutu per Angelicas poteſtates, in honorem, &c.*
[e] *Ipſis in loco ſuis meritis congruo ab omni mortalium converſatione remotis, &c.*

ers of the living for the dead, that will fall into conſideration hereafter. Now as this excellent Father is voluminous, ſo are there ſcattered in his Works many other Paſſages to take us off from the Invocation of Saints, That even at their Shrines we ought not to pray to them, but to God. [a] He tells us, "That whatſoever Religious Obſequies are uſed in the "Temples and Places of the Martyrs, they are Ornaments of their Me-"mory: That we may give thanks to God for their Triumph, and may "encourage others to their Imitation, from the renewing of their Me-"mories, [b] The ſame Lord being call'd upon for our aſſiſtance. Mark it: God being call'd upon for his aſſiſtance, that we may imitate the Martyrs Virtues. [c] Again he tells us, *That which is offer'd at the Shrines and Memories of the Martyrs, is offer'd to God.*

Phil. This is true, as to Sacrifices, which belong only to God; but not as to our Praiers.

Theoph. Our Praiers are Chriſtian Sacrifices, *aſcending up like the Incenſe, and the Evening Sacrifice*, Pſal. 142.2. *Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy Vows unto the moſt higheſt, and call upon me in the time of trouble*, ſaith the Prophet *David*, Pſal. 50.14,15. So *Tertullian* Phraſeth it, [d] *We ſacrifice unto God for the health of the Emperor, but with pure Praier.* And in his Apology for Chriſtians, *Chap.* 30. [e] *I offer to God*, ſaith he, *a more excellent Sacrifice, even Praier, proceeding out of pure lips and an innocent heart, and from the Holy Ghoſt.* So *Clemens Alexandrinus, Lib.* 7. *Stromatum*, [f] *We honor God by Praier, and ſend up this beſt and moſt holy Sacrifice.* Our Praiers therefore, are the moſt acceptable Sacrifices from us to God. (Of your tranſcendent Sacrifice of the Maſs, we may, God willing, treat hereafter.) Again in his firſt *Tom. Lib. De ver a Relig cap. ult.* he tells us. "That the ſervice of the Body may be due to Princes; "the ſervice of the Soul, to God. He tells us farther, "[g] Behold I "worſhip one God, the Fountain of all things, and the Angels that "love God, I am ſure they love me: Whoſoever abides in him, and can "hear the Praiers of Men, in him he heareth me, and in him he helps "me. [h] Religion therefore binds me to one Omnipotent God. The good Father often tells us, That the Bleſſed Saints and Angels expect no ſuch ſervice from us, but expreſly, ſaith he, they direct us to pray to God. "[i] All the Saints and Angels ſeek his glory whom they love, and they "ſtudy to draw all whom they love to his Worſhip, and to his Contem-

[a] *Lib.* 8. *De civit. Dei, cap. ult.*
[b] *Eodem Deo invocato in auxilium.*
[c] *Lib.* 20. *Contra fauſtum Manich. c.* 21. *Quod offertur, Deo offertur, &c.*
[d] *Lib. Ad Scapulam. Sacrificamus Deo pro ſalute Imperat. ſed prece pura.*
[e] *Offero opimam & majorem Hoſtiam orationem de carne pudica, &c.*
[f] Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν θεὸν τιμῶμεν τὸν Θεὸν, &c.
[g] *Ecce unum Deum colo, quiſquis Angel. diligit. hunc Deum certus ſum, &c.*
[h] *Religat ergo nos Religio uni Omnipotenti Deo.*
[i] *Pſal.* 96. *Tom.* 8. *Omnes Sancti & Angeli, &c. Ad ejus cultum, &c.*

plation,

"plation, and to pray to him. To this effect elsewhere he tells us, "[a] The Authors of Holy Scripture are good hills, and when we look "unto them, they will send you back to God, in whom standeth your "help. [b] If you put confidence in them, they will grieve: The Angel, "saith he, that related many Mysteries to *John*, being worship'd by him, "he calls him back to God, [c] as one that did lift up his eyes to the hills, "saying, See thou do it not; worship God: I am thy Fellow-servant. [d] Again he sheweth, "How Christ is our High Priest enter'd within the "veil, who only, of all that lived in the flesh, there doth make Inter-"cession for us: And this, saith he, was shadowed under the Law, "for in the first Temple, only the High Priest enter'd into the Holiest of "all, and offer'd Sacrifice for the People, standing without. Once more, in the 10th Book of his *Confessions*, *chap.* 42. S[t] *Augustin* speaks fully against Invocation of Angels, [e] *Whom may I find*, saith he, *to reconcile me to thee, O God! Shall I go to the Angels? With what Praier, with what Sacraments? Many desirous to return to Thee, and distrusting themselves, as I hear, have tried this way, and have fallen into the curiosity of Visions, and became meet for Delusions.* And now, after all that you have heard out of S[t] *Augustin*, I pray judg whether *Bellarmin* had reason to appeal to him, for the confirmation of the Invocation of Saints.

Phil. Notwithstanding all your insulting Triumphs, what hath bin brought by *Bellarmin* out of S[t] *Augustin*, hath not bin impertinent. But you forget one notable passage which *Bellarmin* quotes out of S[t] *Augustin*, in his 18th Chapter of this Book and Controversie (you promis'd to take these Testimonies into consideration in your own season, but you have forgotten it) [f] It is a formal Invocation: *Let* Cyprian *help us with his Praiers.*

Theoph. 'Tis no Invocation of *Cyprian*, but S[t] *Augustins* desire put up to God, That the Blessed Martyr *Cyprians* Praiers might benefit him. It implies the Supplication of the Saints in Heaven, for the People of God in general, and his Praier to God, *That he, with others, might reap the fruit of their Praiers.*

Phil. I will conclude with *Bellarmins* last Argument; the Miracles that have attested this Doctrine, whereby the Saints and Martyrs have demonstrated, That they do hear our Praiers, and can help us.

Theoph. For a general Answer hereunto, we have already shew'd out of S[t] *Augustin*, That Miracles may be done at the Monuments of the Saints, and themselves may appear unto Votaries in their Temples, and yet know nothing neither of the Miracle or the Apparition. God, by

[a] *Lib. de Pastoribus, c.* 8. *Sunt montes boni, sc. autores divin. script.*
[b] *Si in iis spem posueris contristabuntur.*
[c] *Tanquam levantem oculos ad Montem, revocat ad Deum.*
[d] *Enar. upon Psal.* 64.3. *Solus ibi, ex his qui carnem, &c.*
[e] *Quem invenirem, qui me reconciliaret Tibi?*
[f] *Adjuvet nos Cypr. Orationibus suis. Lib.* 7. *de Baptism. Contra Donatist. c.* 50.

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the ministery of Angels, working Miracles and Cures at their Shrines, for a Testimony unto the Faith for which these Martyrs died.

Phil. This general Answer will not serve: For the Learned Cardinal proves, out of the 3d Book of St *Bernard*'s Life, That the Holy Father, Preaching at *Tholouse*, against such who denied the Invocation of Saints, before all the Congregation blessed Loaves of Bread with the Sign of the Cross, and offer'd this trial of his Doctrine, *That if it were true, all who had Diseases in the great City, eating of these Loaves, should be healed:* And so multitudes were healed of their Infirmities. Here you see, God did attest the Doctrine of Invocation of Saints by Miracle.

Theoph. *Bernard* liv'd in the 12th Century, and so the Testimony runs low: But withal, the Abbot who wrote those four Books, as a Legend of *Bernards* Life, suited the fabulous, credulous humors of these Times; he makes him a Wonder-worker thro-out. I well remember, That above 30 Years since, being a Novice in the University, and reading this account of St *Bernards* Life, I could not choose but abhor the notorious Forgeries of the Writer. I pray read and judg.

Phil. I see you will not be convinc'd, and therefore I will proceed no farther in vain.

Theoph. I give you thanks for your release. It hath bin no small trouble to search your Autorities, and discover in most of them either Impertinency or Forgery. And withal, I pray observe, That as your Pretensions unto the Testimony of Holy Scripture, of General and Provincial Councils for 700 years after Christ of Fathers for the three first Centuries, have bin altogether ineffectual to prove your Doctrine of the Invocation of Saints: That as your pretensions unto the Testimony of Fathers for the three next Centuries, many of them have bin impertinent, others forg'd; and the rest contradicted, either by themselves, or others in their time: So you have not attemted to shew for the practice of this Doctrine, That it was receiv'd by any Church in her public Offices: and therefore, at most, it must pass for the privat Opinion of some Doctors, not the consent of the Church, until your Church did introduce it, among other Innovations: You do not shew how early, because you cannot within 600 years of Christ, and afterwards the Superstition crept in upon the World slowly, and by insensible degrees; one National Church following the example of another. [a] We read indeed in the Greek Church, of one *Peter Gnapheus*, or *Fullo* (as the Latins interpret) who in the latter end of the fifth Century, was by craft Patriarch of *Antioch*; he was an Heretic and *Theopaschite*, maintaining, That the Godhead suffered upon the Cross: *and he added to that Trisagium* (Holy is the Lord, Holy is the Strong, Holy is the Immortal) *who was Crucified for us.* And for this cause he was condemn'd for an Hereteic in a Council at *Rome*, *Felix* the third being Pope, *Anno Christi* 483. This *Peter Fullo*,

[a] *Niceph. lib.* 15. *c.* 28. Τῷ τρισαγίῳ ὕμνῳ, *&c.*
[b] *Bin. Tom.* 3. *p.* 600.

as

as *Nicephorus* likewise shews, appointed, [a] *That in their Prayers Men should call upon the Mother of God, and Invoke her Divine Name.* Now it is observable, That *Baronius* speaks much of this *P. Fullo*, and of his Heresie, and quotes *Nicephorus*; and yet takes no notice of his introducing the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin, but tells us another blind story, *How this* Fullo *consecrated one* Xenaias *a* Persian *Bishop of* Hierapolis, *before he was Baptized, and said,* [b] *That his Consecration might suffice instead of Baptism.* He farther observes, how this Bishop *Xenaias* proved a great *Eiconoclast*, and destroier of Images, and so glories, that the Enemies of Image-worship had such a president, as a barbarous *Persian* Unbaptized; mean while, never considering how it may be retorted upon him and his Church, That an arch Heretic, *Petrus Fullo*, first introduc'd the Invocation of Saints into some parts of the Church Catholic, in the public Office of Prayers, That *Simon Magus*, and some Jewish Christians, first Invocated Angels: That the Heathen Philosophy brought in the Intercession of middle Deities. Will you now be pleas'd to hear some of our Arguments against this Doctrine?

Phil. Willingly: For I expect they should be like your Answers, of no great moment, and so put off with the less difficulty.

Theoph. You may please your self with your own conceits; but I am confident, that upon serious consideration, they will perplex even the refractory, and convince the Ingenious Reader.

Phil. Their goodness depends not upon your Testimony: Let me hear them.

Theoph. Our Blessed Savior taught his Disciples to Pray: He gave them a Prayer, which should be a Form and Pattern to all succeeding Generations: and therefore he said, *After this manner pray ye*, Matth. 6. And *Tertullian* in his Book *De Oratione*, calls the Lords Prayer, *Legem Orationis*, *The Law and Rule of Prayer.* Now in that Prayer we have no Invocation of Saints, but rather Direction given when we Pray, to call upon God the Father which is in Heaven.

Phil. [c] *Bellarmin* answers this Argument, saying, *That our Blessed Savior here taught his Disciples not to whom they should make their Prayers, but what they should ask in Prayer.*

Theoph. Bellarmin saith, but he doth not prove. The Disciples request to Christ, was, concerning the matter and manner of Prayer both, *Lord, teach us to Pray*, Matth. 6 9. And our Savior answers both, *After this manner therefore pray ye: and when ye pray, say, Our Father, &c.* Luke 11. 2.

Phil. Yours, at best, is but a Negative Argument: That because our Blessed Savior did not in this place teach us to desire the Prayers of the

[a] Ἐν προσευχῇ τὴν Θεοτόκον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, &c.

[b] *Dixit, sufficere pro Bapt. Consecrationem, Anno Christi,* 483.

[c] *Ibid. c.* 20. *Non de eo qui Orandus, sed de rebus quæ petendæ sunt, admonuit Discipulos.*

Saints

Saints in Heaven, therefore we ought not ſo to do: Wherefore do you deſire your Friends that are living to pray for you?

Theoph. Becauſe we have warrant ſo to do from other places of Holy Scripture; But neither here, nor elſewhere, have our Savior or the Apoſtles taught us to call upon the Saints in Heaven for the aſſiſtance of their Praiers.

Phil. By this Argument, as *Bellarmin* ſhews, we ought not to pray to God the Son, or God the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe our Savior hath here taught us to ſay only, *Our Father.*

Theoph. The Father is not in the Lords Praier taken Perſonally, but as God. The Bleſſed Trinity, Father, Son, and Spirit, is our Father by Creation, and Redemption, and Adoption. Hence your Learned Jeſuit *Maldonate* upon the place, [a] *I approve rather their Opinion, who hold, That the whole Trinity is here call'd, Our Father.* And it is near unto Blaſphemy to ſay with *Bellarmin*, That the Excluſive or Negative Argument from this Praier, holds as well againſt Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt, as againſt the Saints. The Father, Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, are eſſentially one Creator and Father of all Men. The Saints are Creatures, and no compariſon between them, or conſequence from one to the other.

Phil. You have uſed your ſelf ſo much to bitterneſs of Speech, That it is become even natural to you, to impute unto our Doctors Blaſphemy, and Forgery, and Impertinency, and Folly; and what not? I pray produce your Arguments, and forbear your Cenſures.

Theoph. As the Apoſtle ſpake in another ſenſe, ſo I, for an Apology, muſt ſay, *You have conſtrained me*; but I forbear. The next Argument againſt Invocation of Saints, is that of S[t] *Paul*, Rom. 10. 14. *How ſhall they call on him, in whom they have not believed?* Seeing we muſt believe only in God and in Chriſt, not in the Saints, therefore we muſt not call upon them: We may believe the Saints, but not believe in the Saints. Now the words of the Apoſtle are, *How ſhall they call upon him,* [b] *in whom they have not believ'd.*

Phil. Bellarmin anſwers this Argument, by ſhewing, *That the Apoſtle ſpeaks of calling upon God.* Now we muſt believe on him, before we can call upon him.

Theoph. Muſt we not believe alſo in the Saints, before we call upon them?

Phil. Yes, [c] *Bellarmin* tells you immediatly after, *That he cannot call upon the Saints, who doth not in ſome ſort believe in them.*

Theoph. Bellarmin ſaith this, *Suo more*, to pervert the Holy Scripture with his corrupt Gloſſes and Interpretations: The Fathers are poſitive, That to believe in him, refers only to God. [d] *Gregory Nazianzen* tells us,

[a] *Magis illorum probo ſententiam, qui totam hic Trinit. &c.*
[b] Εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν.
[c] *Non poſſe eum Sanctos invocare qui non ſuo modo credit in Sanctos.*
[d] Οὐ πάντως δὲ πιστεύειν ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς, &c.

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It is not the ſame to believe in any one, and to believe any thing of him; the one belongs to God, the other to any Creature. So *Ruffinus* upon the Creed, *By the ſyllable of this Prepoſition, In, the Creator is diſtinguiſh'd from the Creature; and Divine, from humane things.* We believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: We believe the Holy Church. Theſe were the antient Rules of Faith, until your Doctors gave us new. And yet *Aquinas* here leaves you: [a] for upon *Joh.* 14. 1. he obſerves, *That Chriſt ſaying, Believe alſo in me, teſtifies unto his Diſciples, That he is their God: for although we may believe another, we muſt believe in God only.*

Phil. You multiply Quotations in vain: For you heard that *Bellarmin* did not ſay abſolutly, but that *ſuo modo, We may believe in the Saints.*

Theoph. 'Tis *ſuo modo* in truth: For the Ancients allow no ſuch Qualification.

Phil. You may excuſe the Expreſſion, becauſe he ſhews out of Holy Scripture, that we may believe in the Saints. In S[t] *Pauls* Epiſtle to *Philemon*, ver. 5. *Hearing of thy Love and Faith which thou haſt towards the Lord Jeſus, and towards all Saints.* The Griginal is, *Thy Love and Faith* [b] *in all the Saints*

Theoph. He hath found one place, and none like it, to juſtifie his confident Aſſertions: But you muſt underſtand that Text right, by a fit tranſpoſition of the terms: *Hearing of thy Faith in Chriſt; and of thy Love towards the Saints*: So *Calvin* reads it, and *Firinus* a Learned Jeſuit, in their Commentaries upon the place.

Phil. You will turn and wind every Text to your own purpoſe: But *Bellarmin* explains himſelf concerning this believing in the Saints: [c] *To believe that they are Saints, to hope in them as Patrons; and as ſuch, to love them.*

Theoph. It ſeems by your Cardinals Interpretation of himſelf, theſe three Theological Virtues, Faith, Hope. and Love, contrary to their Nature, muſt be referr'd objectively to the Saints; and ſo Adoration, Invocation, acts of Religious and Divine Worſhip, muſt have the Saints for their object, according to your Doctors, who invert and pervert the frame and order of the ancient Theology by their new Models, and modern Inventions. By this rule, in our Ladies Pſalter, as you call it, many Verſicles of the 150 *Pſalms* of *David*, are Blaſphemouſly perverted: The Name of God the Lord put out, and the name of our Lady put in. *O Lady, How are they multiplied that trouble me*, Pſal. 3 ver. 1. *Ponder my words, O Lady, and conſider my Meditations*, Pſal. 5. 1. *O Lady, rebuke me not in thine Indignation*, Pſal. 6 10. *Unto thee, O Lady, lift I up my Soul, &c.* Pſal. 25. 1. *Have mercy upon me, O Lady, who art call'd the Mother of mothers, according to the tender Bowels of thy Compaſſions, cleanſe me from all mine Iniquities*, Pſal. 51. 1. And ſo it is carried on

[a] *Catena aurea. In Joannem*, c. 14.

[b] Εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους.

[c] *Credere eſſe Sanctos in iis, ut in patronis ſperare, eoſque ut tales diligere.*

throughout the whole book of Pſalms, until you come to the cloſe, *Praiſe our Lady in her Holineſs, Laud her in her Miracles, and Vertues.* Pſalm. 150. 1. This is the new mode *more Romano.* This is the new Devotion of your Church,

Phil. Shew where our Church doth own or countenance ſuch extravagancies.

Theoph. This Pſalter is of Cardinal *Bonaventures* making; a *Franciſcan* Frier, zealous for the Virgin *Mari's* ſuperlative honor, (as ever was the while order of *Franciſcan's.*) It is at larg printed in the fourth tome of his works, under publick Licence, [a] *by the command of Pope Sixtus the fifth, and the licenſe of his ſuperiors,* and for this and other his Seraphical piety; he was afterward Canoniz'd for a Saint.

Phil. It cannot be of that Learned Schoolman's Compoſure, [b] for he writes againſt ſuch trancendencies aſcrib'd unto the Bleſſed Virgin. And gives this pious caution. *We muſt beware leaſt whilſt the Excellency of the Mother is amplified, the glory of the Son be Eclipſt; and ſo in Him ſhe alſo be provok't to anger; who deſires more the honor of her Son, then of her ſelfe.* And he further anſwers that Objection, That the honor of the Mother Redownds to the Son. No ſaith He. [c] *All the Honor due to the Son muſt not be given to the Mother.*

Theoph. He that ſaieth, all Honor due to Chriſt is not to be given to his Mother, ſuppoſeth that ſome Honor due to Chriſt is to be given to her. And that muſt be divine Honor: and withal becauſe he was not of the Opinion of other Doctors, that ſhe was Conceiv'd without Original ſin; he ſpake theſe words, but he concludes, *She was born without ſin, Sanctified immediately after her Conception in her Mothers Womb. That She never ſined actually; and could not ſin after her Conception by the holy Ghoſt, becauſe She was confirm'd in Good as the bleſſed Saints and Angels in Heaven.* However it is evident, ſuch a Blaſphemous Pſalter there is, and (if ye will have it ſo) foiſted into his works, to procure the greater Repuration thereunto. And ſo you confeſs your own Authors are corrupted for the advantage of your cauſe. Mean while, your Index Expurgatorius, your high Commiſſion Court of the Inquiſition ſerves not, it ſeems, to Expunge out of Authors Blaſphemous Spurious Writings, if they any way agree with the Genius of your Church; but to Expunge ſound and Orthodox Divinity, which ſuites not with your new Principle and doctrines, but of ſuch Extravagancies hereafter. I pray tell me, can you Imagine ſo larg a Pſalter conſiſting of an 150. Pſalms, together with other Blaſphemous Hymns and Additions, could be permitted to come abroad into the world under his Name, and in his works, with ſo much Licence and Authority, if it were not well pleaſing to thoſe

[a] *Juſſu Sixti quinti permiſſu ſuperiorum.*

[b] 3. *Sent. diſt.* 3. *qu.* 2. *dl. Cavendum, ne dum Matris Excel. ampliatur. &c.*

[c] *Non omnis honor qui filio debetur Matri tribuendus.*

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in the greateſt Authority in your Church. Now I have inſtanced in this Pſalter to ſhew how ye do believe and hope in the Saints, and ſo Rationally conclude that you ought to call upon them. *But not have not ſo learned Chriſt* to believe amd truſt in man, leaſt the curſe of God ſhould light upon us. To proceed therefore in our Arguments againſt your Doctrine. We have already ſhew'd that your Doctors can make no proof, or give any aſſurance that the Saints in Heaven do hear our Praiers, and therefore that we ſhould call upon them in vain. But yet further as to our thoughts and mental Praiers, the Saints cannot diſcerne them, and therefore are not meet Objects of our Invocation.

Phil. Yes in the glaſs of the Trinity, even mens thoughts may be repreſented to them.

Theoph. Never tell me what may be, but do you believe they do diſcerne our thoughts? you know in Scripture, *to ſearch the hearts, and know the thoughts of men*, is made an incommunicable property of the divine Nature. *Thou even thou only knoweſt the hearts of men*, ſaith *Solomon*. 1 *Kings* 8. 39.

Phil. To this *Bellarmin* anſwers, that *God only naturally, and by his own ver tue knows mens thoughts; but the Saints by Revelation, and the beatific Viſion.*

Theoph. Theſe are meer Dictates without proof. Devices to ſhift of unanſwerable Arguments. How can your great Doctor prove that God reveles the thoughts of Men, and Women, and Children, and their mental Praiers to the Saints in Heaven, or that they behold them in the Beatifical Viſion: whereas he is forc'd to acknowledg, that other things are concealed from them? for inſtance, neither Angels, nor Saints, know the day of Judgment.

Phil. This wiſe diſcourſe ſignifies but little. For if the Saints in glory cannot diſcern nor hear mental Praier, let us put up vocal Supplications, unto them.

Theoph. If you cry aloud, and they cannot hear you, what then? however there is more in this conſideration, then ſo. Would you have the bleſſed Virgin as ſoon intercede for Hypocrites, as for ſincere Chriſtians? ſhall *Peter* admit you all promiſcuouſly into Heaven? ſuch Mediators, as you make the Saints, ought to be qualified for their high office, with a diſcerning faculty of the ſincerity of men's hearts, who call upon them, and withal when men are ſpeechleſs upon their death-beds, and moſt need the help of their Praiers, by your laſt ſuppoſition, they muſt go without them.

Phil. Why is this Argument, of not diſcerning the thoughts of mens hearts; of force againſt the Saints Interceſſion in Heaven, more then againſt the Interceſſion, and praiers of Saints upon Earth for one another;

Theoph. Your ſelves make the wide difference between the Interceſſion of the Saints in heaven, and of the faithful here upon Earth.

And that ſhall be the ground of our next Argument, againſt your Invocation of Saints and their Interceſſion, becauſe you make their Mediation much to derogate from the Mediation and Interceſſion of Chriſt.

Phil. That indeed is a material Objection, but how do ye prove it? [a] *Bellarmin* ſaith expreſly. *We do not call upon the Saints to perform the Office of Chriſt; but only that they would aſſiſt us with their Praiers, the more eaſily for us to obtain our requeſts from God thro Chriſt.* He acknowledges *Chriſt to be the one only Mediator between God and man, by way of Redemption and ſatiſfying the debt: and by Nature as being God and man: and becauſe he only ſtands in need of no other Mediator: whatſoever others obtain of God either for themſelves, or others, they obtain it thro Chriſt.* Now altho the Saints and Angels do not ſatiſfie for our ſins, and pay the debt, yet they may beſeech God for Chriſts ſake to forgive them.

Theop. If this were all, we would not much contend with them about the Saints Interceſſion, as prejudiciall to the Mediation and Interceſſion of Chriſt. But the Doctrine of your Schools goes further. That the Saints intercede for us, not only by their Praiers, but alſo by their merits; [b] ſo *Peter Lombard* the Mr. of the Sentences Interprets the Act of Interceſſion. *We pray to the Saints to Intercede for us.* i. e. *That their merits may become our aſſiſtance*, and Immediately before he ſaith, [c] *The Saints interceed with God for us by their Merits, whilſt their Merits plead for us, and by their Love, deſiring to have our requeſts granted.* *Bonaventure* explains him. *Altho*, ſirſt he, *the Saints in glory*, Non ſunt in ſtatu merendi, *are not in a ſtate of Meriting and are ſufficiently recompenc'd for their Merits in this life*, [d] *yet becauſe they did ſupererogate much, They have obtain'd ſuch honor by there Merits, not only to deſerve beatitude, and glory for themſelves, but alſo to prove ſuffragans for others, ſo that he who was before unworthy; by Praying to the Saints, thro their Patronage becomes worthy.* Now we ſay that thro the Merits of Chriſt, we who are otherwiſe altogether unworthy, have acceſs, with boldneſs unto the Father, and therefore we implore his Patronage, and Advocation, and Interceſſion, and take him as the only Mediator between God and man: and for all this we have the full and expreſs Authority of Gods word. *Thro Him, we have acceſs by one Spirit unto the Father; In whom we have*]*boldneſs, and acceſs with confidence thro faith in Him.* Ephe: 2.18. and 3.12. Again. *If any Man Sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righte-*

[a] *Ibid. Cap.* 20.
[b] *Sent. l.* 4 *diſt.* 45. *ad finem.*
[c] *Intercedunt merito & affectu.*
[d] *In* 4 *Sent. diſt.* 45.
[e] *Quia multa ſupererog. ſuis meritis adepti ſunt locum, &c.*

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ous, and he is the Propitiation for our ſins, and not for ours only, but alſo for the ſins of the whole world. 1 John 1. 2. Again. *There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man,, the Man Chriſt Jeſus who gave himſelfe a Ranſom for us.* 1 Tim. 2. v. 5, 6.

Phil. I have ſhew'd above how *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth Chriſt, to be the one only Mediator, by way of Redemtion, and ſolution of the debt, but the Saints may be Mediators by way of Interceſſion.

Theoph. If you meant only the Interceſſion of Praiers, it were tolerable but your Doctors bring in the interceſſion of their Merits; and that implies, ſatisfaction of the debt, at leaſt in ſome part their Superogation ſupplying our defect.

Phil. This refers unto another Point to be diſcuſt hereafter, touching the Saints Merits, and Superogation; and therefore we will not now determine it.

Theoph. Mean while upon your own groſſe ſuppoſitions you make the Saints ſo to Interpoſe with God for us, as to Intrench upon the Interceſſion of Chriſt, who is therefore repreſented to be our Advocate, becauſe, *He is a propitiation for Sin.* 1 *John* 2. 1, 2. As our Mediator, becauſe, *He gave himſelf a Ranſom for all.* 1 Tim. 2. 6.

Phil. You may take our Bleſſed Saviour as the principal in Interceſſion, and ſatisfaction; and the Bleſſed Saints may come in as Inferiour Advocates, and Patrons.

Theoph. This is the Rock, againſt which your Schole-men generally Ship-wrack Concience. Firſt, They take all things taught or practis'd in the Church of *Rome* as infallibly true, and then when any thing is objected out of Gods word, or the Teſtimony, of the Ancients againſt them, they ſalve themſelves by a diſtinction So you have in Saints worſhip, and Image worſhip, λατρεία δουλεία; a Supreme and inferior religious worſhip, compoſeth the difference. So Chriſt is the Inviſible head of the Church Catholick, and the *Pope* the viſible and Miniſterial. So the works of the Law do not juſtify together with faith, but good works do. So you may hold two principles with the *Manichees.* For altho God be the only Author and Creator of good things; there may be any other firſt principle of evil things. And thus we can have no ſtanding rule and meaſure of Truth, and Religion, as long as the wit of Man, ſhal adventure to delude them by the ſubtlety of a diſtinction.

Phil. How can you attain to any true knowledg of things; if you take away the uſe of diſtinguiſhing.

Theoph. Not the uſe but the abuſe of diſtinguiſhing is our greivance; when ſubtle men elude the moſt evident Teſtimonies of the Scripture, and the Fathers againſt them, which diſtinctions minted in their own brains; and only ſerving, to their preſent purpoſe.

Phil. Our Doctors excellently diſtinguiſh in this work of Mediation. Namely,, *That Chriſt is the Mediator between God and Man*;

and the blessed Saints, are Mediators between us and Christ, [a] So *Bonaventure* of the Blessed Virgin. *She is the Mediatrix between us and Christ, as Christ is Mediator between us and God.* [b] And so *Azorius* asserts of all the blessed Saints. *The Saints are our Advocates and Patrons, with Christ, and Christ with God.* And some of our Doctors give an excellent reason, of this distinction. They say, *Christ is not only an Advocate, but also a Judge, examining the Merit of the Supplicant*; and how shall a poor Sinner come unto him without an Intercessor to find Acceptance? so the [c] Arch-Bishop of *Florence, and therefore*, saith he, *God hath furnish'd us with an Advocatrix, who is gentle, and sweet, without any mixture of sharpness, according to that notable saying, of* St Bernard, (which *Antonius* cites) *O man thou hast a secure access to God, where the Mother stands before the Son, and the Son before the Father, the Mother shewing her Breast, and Paps, and the Son his Side, and the Wounds unto his Father.*

Theoph. This is a new Model of Divinity to the purpose, we had thought the Love of Christ towards poor Sinners, could find no paralel. That the good Shep-heard needed no solicitation, and mediation of others, to bring home the lost sheep; he came down from Heaven to save it. We find he has graciously invited the weary and heavy laden to come unto him; do ye find where he puts them from him, since the work of our Redemption is perfected? The Apostle tells us, he can have compassion of *our infirmities*, and be *touched with a fellow feeling, being in all points Tempted like as we are, yet without Sin. And therefore we may come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain Mercy.* Heb. 4 15. 16. That we have *a Merciful and Faithful High Priest, to make Reconciliation for the Sins of the People.* Heb. 2. 17. *That he is able to save them to the uttermost that come to God by him; seeing he ever liveth to make Intercession for them.* Heb. 7. 25 All this and much more we Read to our unspeakable Comfort, but nothing of his severe Inquisition, and Judging them that come to him, before his second coming unto Judgment. And yet I must tell you, you have bin too favouroble in the discovery,; this Mystery of Iniquity works higher then you have Represented. The blessed Virgin must not only intreat, but command her Son. It is a Notorious form of Praier among you [d] *O happy Mother, upon a Mothers autority command thy Son.* And altho [e] *Bellarmin*

[a] 3 *Sent. Dist.* 3. *qu.* 2.
[b] *l.* 9. *Moral. Instit. c.* 10. *Sancti. apud Christum. &c.*
[c] *Antonius* 4. *sum. titulo* 15. *Deus providat nobis. &c.*
[d] *O Felix Puerpera Jure Matris impera.*
[e] *Ibid. c.* 16. *Quis nostrum hoc dicit.*

askt *who used that Form*, as tho he were ignorant thereof: yet as being conscious, he immediately after Excuses and justifies the Praier. [a] *For*, saith he, *if it be said* Joshua *the* 10. *The Lord obei'd the voice of a Man, why may not, after some sort, the Son of God be said to obey his Mother.*

Theoph. Aliquo modo, Your Doctors can make any thing good, but in the first place, it is not there said That the Lord obei'd the voice of Man. So indeed your vulgar Translation renders it, but according to the Original, we read it thus. [b] *That the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a Man.* Josh. 10. 14. And so the septuagint, and if God did obey the voice of a Man, yet we do not read that *Joshua* did command the Lord; but only the Sun, and Moon. *Sun stand thou still in* Gibeon, *and Thou Moon in the vally of* Aialon, and therefore, [c] *upon the authority of a Mother command thy Son*; it was Intolerable to say so, when Christ was in the Flesh, and subject to his Parents; much more now he being ascended into Glory. You do not read that the Blessed Virgin laid any command upon her Son on Earth.

Phil. You may take these as high Expressions of a devout Soul, manifesting her confidence in the blessed Mother, to obtain any thing of her Son, and Saviour.

Theoph. Such extatic devotion hath led many of your Church beyond all reason, and Religion, in their superstitious addresses to the Saints; and upon this occasion given, I will insist more upon your Extravagancies, in the Invocation, and worship of our Lady. You salute Her the Queen of Heaven, and Mother of Mercies: and so your Doctors have assigned unto Her more then half the Kingdom with the Father. As the great King *Ahasuerus* promist unto Queen *Ester*. [d] One of your Schoolmen tells us, That *God reserving the execution of Justice to himself, hath granted to the Virgin Mother, the dispensation of Grace, and Mercy.* [e] By another we are taught, *to appeal from the Bar of Gods Justice, unto the Throne of Mercy, of the Blessed Virgin.* And whereas the Apostle exhorts, *to come boldly unto the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy.* The Arch-Bishop of *Florence* tels us, That [f] *Mary is this throne wherein Christ rested*, and that *it is necessary all such should be Justified and saved, unto whom she turnsher favorable countenance, and for whom she, proves an advocate* and *Bernardinus* further

[a] *Si Josh.* 10. *dicitur obedire. &c.*
Ὅτι ὑπακούσας Θεὸς ἀνθρώπου.
[c] *Jure Matris impera.*
[d] *Gabriel Biel, Supra Canon. Missæ lect.* 80. *&c.*
[e] *Bernardinus in suo Mariali. &c.*
[f] *Mariah est thronus Christi. &c.*

assures

aſſures us, "That [a] as Grace is in Chriſt, as in the head and fountain, "ſo is it in Mary as in the neck tranſmitting; So that no Grace can deſcend from Heaven upon the ſons of men, but thro the hands and conveyance of the Bleſſed Virgin. Lay all this together, and you will ſoon perceive how by a ſtrange emulation of her Votaries the ſuperſtition is improv'd, even into the higheſt degree of blaſphemy.

Phil. Our Church is not concern'd in theſe follies of private perſons and ſuperſtitious Votaries.

Theoph. You have paſt a juſt Cenſure upon them, yet you will find they deriv'd their imaginations from others before them of great Autority in your Church. You may turn *Caniſius* the *Jeſuits* Catechiſm, ſet forth in a large Folio, under the licence of Pope *Pius* the fift. In his ſecond chap. of the Lords Praier, and the Angel *Gabriel's* Salutation: *quæſt.* 18. among others he cites out of *Damaſcen*, *Bernard*, and *Anſelm*, theſe paſſages. [b] "O Lady receive the praier of a ſinner, who doth fer- "vently love and worship thee as his only hope and joy, and pledg "of Salvation. Shake off the burden of my ſins, and ſubdue temtations, "and guide me in holineſs, that by thy conduct I may obtain eternal "bliſs. [c] I ſhall be ſav'd under thine irreprovable hope; having your pro- "tection as a breſtplate, and your omnipotent aſſiſtance. Bleſſed Mother "of God open unto us the Gate of mercy, that truſting in thee we "may not err, and may be freed from all evil: [d] For thou art the "Salvation of Mankind. [e] I put my whole truſt in thee, ô Mother of "Light. This he cites out of *Damaſcen.* Out of *Bernard* he brings theſe paſſages. [f] "Our Quen is gon before, receiv'd into her glory, that we her "ſervants may call after her. Draw us that we may run after Thee, be- "cauſe of the ſavour of thine Ointments. *Cant.* 1. The Bleſſed Virgin "aſcending up on high, even she will give gifts unto men. For what "should hinder, ſeeing neither power nor a will is wanting? She is the "mercifull Queen of Heaven, and the Mother of Gods only Son. Let "him forbear to magnify thy mercy, who hath found thee wanting, when "he call'd upon thee. O thou Bleſſed, who can take the length and "breadth and height and depth of thy mercy? Out of *Anſelm* this. "[g] We beſeech thee ô Lady by that grace whereby almighty God hath "highly exalted thee, and given to thee together with himſelf all "things poſſible, that Thou wouldſt obtaine for us ſuch fulneſs of grace "which thou haſt deſerv'd to bring us to Glory. Do thou only will our "Salvation, and we shall be ſav'd, help us therefore moſt benigne Lady, "and not remembring the multitude of our ſins incline thy heart to

[a] *In Chriſto tanquam in capite influente, in Mariâ tanquam, &c.*
[b] *Domina peccatoris orationem accipe, Te ſolum gaudii ſpem habentis, &c.*
[c] *Invituperabilem Deipara ſpem tuam, &c. Omnipotens auxilium tuum.*
[d] *Tu enim es ſalus generis humani.*
[e] *Omnem ſpem meam in Te repono Mater luminis.*
[f] *Præceſſit nos Regina noſtra, præceſſit, ut fiducialiter ſequantur Dominam, &c.*
[g] *Per ipſam gratiam quâ Te Deus omnipotens exaltavit, & omnia Tibi, &c.*

"pity

"pity us. Again, if your Church doth not approve, how come your Superiors to licence ſuch books? why does your Sacred Colledg of Inquiſitors ſtrein at Gnats in other'd mens writings, & ſwallow theſe Camels? If your Doctors did abhor ſuch blaſphemies, they would expunge them, they would bend their intereſts and their ſtudies againſt them. But the naked truth is, That the Orders of the *Franciſcan's*, and the *Jeſuits* moſt of them, have ſo vehemently eſpous'd the honor of our *Lady*, that nothing comes amiſs to advance it; and theſe having the greateſt influence upon the Court of Rome, have in a manner ſilenc'd all ſuch as among your ſelves would have contradicted. For Inſtance, in that great Queſtion about the Immaculate Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin in her Mothers womb, the *Dominicans* were Orthodox, and in the negative, maintaining well, *That all who deſcended from the loins of Adam by natural generation were conceiv'd in ſin, infected with original corruption. That only Chriſt was without ſin; and therefore his Bleſſed Mother was not free at leaſt from original ſin. That if Chriſt was her God and Saviour, (as ſhe acknowledges in the firſt verſe of her* Magnificat,) *therefore ſhe was a ſinner. For he was therefore call'd* Jeſus, *or* Saviour, *becauſe he ſhould ſave his People from their ſins.* But the other party effected that by power and intereſt, which they could not make good by Argument: & by plurality of votes they prevail'd in the [a] Council of Trent, *That the Virgin Mother ſhould not be included within the Canon of original ſin; but the Conſtitutions of* Sixtus 4^tus *the Pope ſhould be obſerved.* The ſame faction had before prevail'd upon the Pope and Court to eſtablish a Solemn Feaſt in memory of her Immaculate Conception; they procur'd the Edict of Pope *Xyſtus quartus*, that none ſhould write or diſpute againſt it: and ſo the opinion of the Immaculate Conception is fairly made a Doctrine of the Church, ſeeing the Feaſt is ſolemniz'd by the Authority of the Pope. For Pope *Sixtus* an° 1476 publiſheth his Bull [b] to eſtabliſh the Feaſt with great Indulgences to all ſuch as ſhould devoutly keep the Feaſt, and be preſent at the ſolemn Offices and Services of it: and ſeven years after he ſets forth another Bull, ſeverely forbidding any one to ſpeak or write againſt the Immaculate Conception, and the Council of Trent Confirms that Decree of *Xyſtus*. You ſee therefore how matters are carried by favour and affection, under ſhew of piety, & devotion, & honour towards the Mother of God; they have introduc'd heretical opinions and preſumtious blaſphemies, whereof I have given ſome inſtances.

Phil. I pray forbear your railing, & keep cloſe to the point of Saints Invocation, and bring your exceptions againſt the public practiſe of the Church, if any you have, and trouble not your ſelf and me with perſonal extravagancies and phancies.

Theoph. I thought a Popes Bull for the Celebration of the Feaſt of the Immaculate Conception, and the confirmation thereof by your darling

[a] *Concil. Trid. ſeſs. 5. Declarat tum hanc ſanctam Synodum, non eſſe ſuæ, &c.*
[b] *Vid. Bin. tom. 8. pag. 1051, 1052.*

Synod, the famous Council of Trent, had bin no perſonal extravagance.

Phil. What is that to the Invocation of Saints & the Virgin Mother? ſpeak to the point, or elſe conclude.

Theoph. Yes, the Bull of *Sixtus* the fourth confirms much ſuch extravagancies. For in that Decree the Virgin *Mary* is ſtiled [a] *Queen of Heaven, the morning Star, the way of mercy, Mother of grace, and the comforter of Mankind.*

Phil. Leave theſe digreſſions, & ſpeak to the point of Saints Invocation.

Theoph. I am perſwaded, as you do not approve, ſo you cannot juſtify ſuch paſſages and expreſſions, and therefore you have not patience to hear of them; but I will follow your direction and contract my obſervations within the public Offices and *Breviaries*. [b] *Bellarmin* tells us the Church Catholic in her Hymn to the Virgin *Mary*, praies thus; "O Mary "Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy, Do thou defend us from the "enimy; and and receive us in the hour of death. If we may judg of words by their ſignification, doubtleſs this praier imports more then barely a deſire of her aſſiſtance by her praiers.

Phil. Bellarmin in the ſame place gives you a general rule againſt ſuch ſiniſter conſtructions: [c] *We diſpute not of the words, but of their ſenſe.* Now the ſenſe of our Church in all ſuch petitions, is, that the Bleſſed Virgin and the Saints by their praiers and by their merits would procure theſe things for us.

Theoph. Altho this may be the ſenſe of your Church; yet it is not the ſignification of the words; and methinks to avoid the juſt occaſion of ſcandal given to your adverſaries by them, & the occaſion of errour and deluſion given to your undiſcerning votaries, your Church ſhould have expreſt her ſelf in more inoffenſive and juſtifiable termes. *Bellarmine* gives a 2[d] inſtance in the Hymn of the Apoſtles, he ſaith, the Church praies thus: [d] "Let the Holy Apoſtles unto whoſe command both "the welfare and languiſhings of all men are ſubmited; let them heal us "who are morally ſick, and reſtore us unto a life of vertues. If Command here muſt ſignify Interceſſion and ſupplication; your Church would do well and wiſely to ſet forth a new Dictionary, to interpret words and ſentences, not after the common ſenſe and ſignification of them, but after the Roman gloſſe. Mean while an impartial Judg muſt needs conclude theſe interpretations to be forc'd, only to ſalve the inconveniencies and abſurdities of ſuch praiers: and if your Church had deſign'd only to invocate the Saints in Heaven for their Interceſſion with God by their praiers, she would have made uſe of more humble and ſuitable expreſſions; but making the Interceſſion of Saints to conſiſt as well in their merits as in their praiers; calling upon them as well for their patronage, as their Interceſſion. This, I ſay, hath prepar'd the way for all thoſe

[a] *Bin tom. 8. p. 1051. Regina Cœli, Stella matutina, via miſericord. &c.*

[b] *Ibid. c. 17. Maria Mater gratiæ, Mater miſericordiæ, tu nos ab hoſte, &c.*

[c] *Nos non agere de verbis, at ſenſu verborum.*

[d] *Quorum præcepto ſubditur, ſalus & languor omnium, ſanent ægros, &c.*

foremention'd

forementionʼd presumtions and blasphemies in your addresses to them, and Invocation of them. If God be the *Father of grace and mercy*, and *Mary the Mother*, who would imagine otherwise, but that these heavenly blessings flow originally and immediatly from them both.

Phil. It is obvious that the Blessed Virgin is callʼd the *Mother of mercy*, because she is the Mother of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who is the fountain of Grace and mercy.

Theoph. Your Doctors do not teach you so to understand it, seeing they represent Christ as a severe Judge towards a poor sinner, and *Mary* their Advocate for mercy. You have heard how in the distribution of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Provinceof *Justice* is allottʼd to the *Son*, and of *Mercy* to the Virgin *Mother*. Your *Florentin* Archbishop tells us, That upon the *Assumtion* of the Blessed Virgin into Heaven, (as your Doctors have carefully imprinted that belief in the hearts of the credulous people, *the whole person of the Virgin* Mary, *both Body and Soul, is taken up into Heaven.*) I say we are told that when she was translated into Heaven, *the Seraphims attended upon her, and earnestly solicited her stay and society with their sublime Order. But she deliberatly answerʼd,* [a] *It is not good the Man should be alone*, meaning her Son, and that *She must assist him in the Redemtion of Gods people by her Compassion, and in their Glorification by her Intercession.* That *when for the Iniquity of the world her Son should be ready to destroy the Earth a second time with a floud, she may appeare as the bow in the clouds, to oppose his fury, and mind him of his Covenant and promise.* These are the luxuriant fancies of your Archbishop: suitable hereunto I read of [b] Pictures in your Temples representing *Christ in his indignation, casting darts and thunderbolts, and the Blessed Virgin standing between his wrath and sinfull men, and receiving the darts into her bosom.*

Phil. Still you return to the fancies of private Doctors and Painters, you promisʼd more authentick proofs.

Theoph. What think you of that great promise made to uphold man immediatly after his fall, concerning *Christ the seed of the woman; who should break the serpents head, that is overcome the Devil and all infernal powers?* Your vulgar Translation (which must be more authentick then the Original) reads the Pronoun in the feminine, [c] *She shall bruise his head*: instead of, *He shall bruise*, as the Hebrew and the *Septuagint* read it: And hereupon your Doctors refer the promise unto the Virgin *Mary*, as tho in all things she must have the preheminence.

Phil. Bellarmin shews, how the vulgar Translation varies. [d] He hath seen a Copy which reads it likewise in the masculine.

Theoph. What he hath searcht and found we know not; but your Translation generally runs in the feminine. And he acknowledgeth the Latin Fathers, being misled by the vulgar Translation, take it in the

[a] *Non est bonum hominem esse solum.*
[b] *Vide Chemnit. exam. Trid. Concil p. 3. de Invoc. Sanct.*
[c] *Ipsa conteret caput serpentis. Gen. 3.*
[d] *Tom. 1. lib. 2. de Verbo Dei c. 12.*

feminine. And upon that ſame account your Doctors refer the Prophecy to the Virgin.

Phil. Bellarmin ſhews in the ſecond place, that he ſaw an Hebrew Copy which had the feminine הִוא not הוּא.

Theoph. This obſervation is like the former, upon ſome corrupt Copy, againſt the general reading of the Hebrew Text. And he would leave the Scriptures altogether upon uncertainties, that their Tranſlation might not be lyable to reprehenſion.

Phil. He refers to *Chryſoſtom* a Father of the Greek Church, who, he ſaith, reads it in the feminine.

Theoph. He doth ſo after his accuſtum'd manner to deceive his Reader. For it is manifeſt the [a] Father reads it in the maſculine, perhaps here alſo the Cardinal conſulted ſome Latin Tranſlation of *Chryſoſtom* which might ſerve his turn. He makes ſome other inconſiderable pleas to juſtify the vulgar reading, chiefly becauſe of this modern reference unto Our Lady. Whereas ſome Fathers of the Latin Church being ignorant of the Hebrew and the Greek, follow the vulgar tranſlation, and yet, as I can find, never reflected upon the Virgin *Mary* in that promiſe; only your new Doctors, who, many of them, have knowledg of the Tongues ſufficient to diſcern the error of the tranſlation, yet pleaſe themſelves much therewith, and make their advantage of the error, to improve the honor of the Lady, and make her the prime ſubject of that grand Prophecy. By this way they may juſtify the petition of your Churches praier to Her; [b] *That She would defend us from our ghoſtly Enemy.* Becauſe as Eve was overcome by him, ſo *Mary* ſhould be victorious and bruiſe his head: and ſo the recompence ſhould be made unto mankind, by the ſame Sex which had tranſgreſs'd.

Phil. I ſtill muſt mind you of leaving theſe excurſions, and ſhew wherein the Church of Rome offends in this point of the Invocation of Saints.

Theoph. I ſhew you how ſhe offends in owning the vulgar tranſlation, and giving occaſion unto thoſe uſual blaſphemies concerning the Virgin *Mary*. However I will proceed and ſhew how in her general Councils (as ſhe eſteem them) in her Popes, in her Liturgies, ſhe hath given great Offence and ſcandal unto the Iſrael of God. In that great Lateran Council begun anº 1512, *Julius* the ſecond being Pope, and ended 5 years after under Pope Leo the tenth conſiſting of 114 Biſhops: we ſhall read in [c] *Binius* his Edition of the Councils the 9th tome, how in the opening of the ſeveral ſeſſions of that Council, for the greater ſolemnity, Homilies were made by men of great fame and Learning among them. *Caietanus* begins the 2d ſeſſion with his Oration or Sermon, and premiſeth this addreſs to the Virgin *Mary*. [d] *Becauſe man can*

[a] *Homil. 17. in Gen.* Αὐτὸς ὁ πρέσβυς κεφαλήν.

[b] *Tuos ab hoſte protege.*

[c] *Bin. Tom. 9. in Conc. Lateran.*

[d] *Quoniam nihil eſt quod homo ſine divino auxilio poſſit pulchrum, ad gloriosam ipſam Virginem Dei Matrem, primo convertam Orationem meam. Ave Maria.*

promiſe

promiſe to himſelf nothing without divine aſſiſtance, therefore in the firſt place I will addreſs my prayer unto the glorious Virgin Mother of God. Hail Mary, &c. So *Balthaſar Del Rio*, in the opening of the ſeventh ſeſſion, begins his Sermon. [a] *That ye may hear acceptable things ſpoken, and perform them, let us implore the protection of the Virgin Mary Mother of God. Hail Mary full of grace, &c.*

Phil. Theſe are inſtances of no direful conſequence. In the Solemn performance of thoſe holy exerciſes they implore the aſſiſtance of the Bleſſed Virgin; you may ſuppoſe, the aſſiſtance of her prayers.

Theoph. We in our Homilies and Sermons apply our ſelves to the bleſſing of Gods aſſiſtance; and you in the firſt place ſeek to the divine aſſiſtance of the Bleſſed Virgin. (for ſo *Caietanus* appears to call it) however you ſee it is the mode and form, even in the preſence of ſo great Council, That the Invocation of the Bleſſed Virgin, ſhould juſtle out all ſupplication to God in their Sermons: for otherwiſe they would not alwaies have kept to this way. For ſo in the ninth ſeſſion *Antonius Puccius*, a Biſhop and Clerk of the Apoſtolical Chamber, having propos'd great things to ſpeak of. [b] "Before I enter, ſaith he, upon theſe "things I will humbly implore help from the moſt Bleſſed Virgin in "the Angelical Salutation, Hail Mary, &c. But the laſt inſtance I will give in the tenth ſeſſion is obſervable; the Homily was made by a Venerable Archbiſhop named *Stephen*, 70 years old; and having deſign'd to inſiſt upon conſiderable points out of the 48 Pſalme, he prays in theſe words. [c] "May the Bleſſed Virgin, Lady of Angels, the fountain of "all graces, afford her help, who hath ſlain all hereſies, and by whoſe "aſſiſtance the great reformation in hand, the unity of Princes, the "expedition againſt Infidels, muſt be carried on. And becauſe this was not enough, the good old man improves his youthful Muſe to compoſe an Ode unto the Virgin, to implore her aſſiſtance, as well in Meeter as in Proſe. He goes on in this mode of ſupplication.

"Thou art the ſplendor, ornament, &	*Omnium ſplendor, decus, & perennis,*
"Everlaſting light of all Virgins, the	*Virginum lumen, genetrix ſuperni,*
"Mother of the moſt high, the glory	*Gloria humani generis Maria*
"of Mankind, Bleſſed Mary.	*Unica noſtri.*
"Thou alone ô Virgin doſt rule the	*Sola tu Virgo dominaris aſtris,*
"Stars, Thou art the light of Heaven	*Sola tu terræ Maris atque Cœli*
"and Earth and the Sea, we beſeech	*Lumen, inceptis favens, rogamus,*
"Thee to favor our attempts.	*Inclyta noſtris.*

[a] *Ut non ingrata audire atque audita exequi poſſitis, Deiparæ Virg. Mariæ præſidium imploremus. Ave Maria, &c.*

[b] *Antequàm hæc aggrediar, per Angelicam ſalutat. beatiſſ. Virg. opem ſupplicitèr implorabo. Ave Maria, &c.*

[c] *Ipſa Virgo beata, Angelorum Domina, fons omnium gratiarum: quæ omnes hæreſes interemit, cujus operâ magna Reform. Principum concord. & vera contra Infid. expeditio fieri debet.*

That I may unlock the ſacred ſenſes *Ut queam ſacros reſerare ſenſus*
which ly hid in theſe ſevere writings, *Qui latent chartis nimiùm ſeveris*;
And Scale the high places of the Earth, *Ingredi & celſæ, duce Te benignâ,*
Thou being our Captain. *Mœnia Terræ.*

You ſee the Authentick practiſe of your Church, before ſo ſolemn an Aſſembly. Theſe Applications made to the Bleſſed Virgin in ſolemn forms of Praier, and in ſuch Terms, are inconſiſtent with the rules of Piety, and Religion.

Phil. You may let this paſs upon the ſcore of a Poetical Licence.

Theoph. In our Praiers we ſhould be devout, and modeſt, not licentious and bold; but alas if you look back upon his ſupplication in Proſe, you will find it more extravagant, his Luxuriant Fancy was not there confin'd to meaſures. But from theſe inſtances you may take the meaſures of their Licenc'd, and moſt authentic impiety. ſuch Hymnes made the beſt Melody, and were moſt acceptable unto your Fathers of the Church, and all her Children in the Antichriſtian times.

Phil. Your indiſcreet Zeal tranſports you beyond the rule of Charity, which might inſtruct you to put a fair gloſs upon ſome harſh Expreſſions.

Theoph. I dare not call evil good, neither have I learn'd the Art of your Doctors, to undertake the defence of great Impieties, and Blaſphemies, and make them plauſible by a diſtinction. The next general Council (as you reckon) was that of *Trent*: where we have the Doctrine of the Invocation of Saints eſtabliſht, and all thoſe declared Impious who think otherwiſe. And altho the Council pen'd the decree in moſt cautious terms, (being awakened with the exceptions of reformed Churches,) [a] yet we may plainly there diſcover, That it is not their Praiers only which we muſt ſue for, but alſo the help, and ſuccor of the Saints in Heaven. *It is good and profitable humbly to call upon them, and to fly to their Praiers, and aid, and help.* If the council had intended only the Aſſiſtance of their Praiers, they would not have multiplied terms without cauſe in their decree. But in theſe words they have left open a Gap, for the Saints votaries to juſtify their Praiers to the Saints for their aid, and protection, to expect effectual favours from them, not only by their Praiers, but alſo by their Active powers. Theſe things will eaſily fall under this clauſe of the Decree, *Ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque, confugere.*

Phil. I have no reaſon to admit ſiniſter conſtructions, any farther then the words will neceſſarily force me. Now the later terms may be Exegetical of the former, and well tranſpos'd thus, *To fly to the aid and aſſiſtance of their Praiers.* And then tell me what have you gotten by this decree.

[a] *Concil. Trid. ſeſſ.* 25.

Theoph.

Theoph. Your practise will best interpret your Rule. If the public praiers of your Church request more of the Saints in Heaven, then the assistance only of their Praiers, you may suppose your Church intended, and understood, and exprest more in her decree. You shall find your Church often to supplicate, *That as well by the Merits, as by the Intercession of the Saints, God would be favourable unto them.* In the Hymnes above mentioned, to the Virgin Mary, she is call'd the *Mother of Grace, and mercy,* and Protection from our Ghostly Enemy is sought from her, and reception into Glory. So likewise in the hymne of the Apostles, Grace, and Vertue is desired of the Saints for such as languish in their Vices. And that by the *command of the Apostles,* as it is exprest, and not by their Praiers. And yet *Bellarmin* hath the confidence to interpret all these things, according to the sense of the Church, as he speaks, *That all these things are expected from their Praiers, not from any other assistance.* You shall find several Popes in the Names of *Peter,* and *Paul,* promising great things unto Princes, who shall engage in the defence, and cause of the Church, and threatning dreadfull Judgments from them upon such as are disobedient. Pope *Hadrian* writing to the Emperor *Constantine* and *Irene* his Mother, Congratulates their embracing the Faith of *Peter,* and *Paul,* Princes of the Apostles, and promiseth, [a] *They shall protect the Empire, make them Victorious, and bring the* Barbarous *Nations under their feet.* On the contrary we find direful threats from these two Apostles. Pope *Pius* the 4th concludes his Bulls after this sort, [b] *Let none presume to infringe this our Declaration. If any shall attemt to do so, let him know he shall incur the wrath of God Almighty, and of his two blessed Apostles* Peter, *and* Paul. These things are Obvious, and I will not heap Quotations to prove them, I will only give you an Account of one notable Letter to this effect, which I mention'd in the beginning of this Conference, and will now transcribe much of it for your sake, and the Readers, that ye may judge, what your Popes opinion was of the power, and Patronage of the Apostles, and so by consequence of the other Saints. [c] Pope *Stephen* the 3. being grievously streightened by *Aystulphus* King of *Lombardy,* who with a Potent Army besieged *Rome,* sends a Letter in the name of St *Peter,* unto *Pipin,* and his two sons, *Charles,* and *Carloman* Kings of *France.* It begins thus, [d] Peter *call'd to be an Apostle, by Jesus Christ the Son of God, &c. Grace, Peace, and Power, &c. To you most excellent men,* Pipin, Charles, *and* Carloman 3 *Kings, &c.* After the

[a] *Binius Tome* 5. *p.* 554. αὐτοὶ ὑπερασπίσαι, *&c.*

[b] *Nulli hominum liceat hanc. &c vid. Concil. Trid. edit. per Joan. Gallemart, ad finem.* [c] *Bin. Tom.* 5. *p.* 55.

[d] *Petrus Apost. vocatus à Jesu Christo dei filio, &c.*

salutation

ſalutation he proceeds. [e] *I Peter an Apoſtle being call'd by Chriſt, and the good pleaſure of the Divine Clemency, and ordain'd by his power to enlighten the whole world.* " [f] Therefore all Men who fulfil my " Preaching, and command, muſt believe, That their ſins by Gods " precept are forgiven in this World, and ſhall go into life Eternal " without Blemiſh, &c. Therefore I *Peter*, &c, Who have Adopt- " ed you for my Sons, do exhort you to defend the City of *Rome*, " and my Sepulcher, and Temple there, againſt the Incurſion of my Ene- " mies. [g] And know ye for certain that I my ſelf will be preſent with " you, to aſſiſt you as tho I were preſent and viſible in the Fleſh, for " altho I am abſent in the Fleſh, I am preſent in the Spirit. Now " our Lady the Mother of God, the Thrones, and Dominions, and " all the Hoſt of Heaven, with the Martyrs, and confeſſors of " Chriſt, with all obligations poſſible do adjure you, to aſſiſt my " City, and People of *Rome*, with your utmoſt power, and ſpeed. " [h] And I *Peter* by way of recompence, will become your Brother " in this life, and in the day of Gods ſtrict Judgment, prepare " Manſions for you in the glorious Kingdom of God, the reward of " eternal recompence, and the Infinite joies of Paradice. Nay " whatſoever Protections and aſſiſtance you will ask, I will give you. " I therefore Conjure you by the moſt beloved living God, that ye " permit not my City to be ſackt by the *Lombards*, leaſt your Souls " and Bodies be likewiſe torn and tormented in everlaſting Fire, " with the Devil and all his Peſtilent Angels. [i] Ye muſt firmly be- " lieve that heretofore when you Pray'd unto me, I did help, and " give you Victory over your Enemies, by the power of God, " when you were few in number, in compariſon of the Enemies of " the Church. [k] *He concludes.* Behold my dear ſons, I have warned " you, if you obey with ſpeed, it ſhall be your great reward, and " my ſuffrage ſhall help you in this life, ye ſhall overcome your Ene- " mies, and live long, and eat good things, and afterwards ye " ſhall inherit Eternal life. But if ye make any delay: know ye that " by the authority of the holy, and individual Trinity, and by the " Apoſtolical grace given unto me, ye ſhall be alienated, for the tranſ- " greſſion of this my Exhortation, from the Kingdom of God, and from " life Eternal.

Phil. I have had the Patience to hear you, I pray let me now underſtand your deſign in theſe Inſtances.

Theoph. Your Popes are public Perſons, and you would have them thought to be guided by an infallible Spirit; eſpecially in their

[e] *Ego Petrus Apoſt. dictus a Chriſto &c.*
[f] *Quamobrem omnes, &c.*
[g] *Pro certo confidite memet ipſum, &c.*
[h] *Et ego Petrus in hac Vita, &c.*
[i] *Firmiſſ. tenete quod ego, &c.*
[k] *Ecce chariſſ. fili, &c.*

Bulls,

Buls & Epiſtles and ſerious agitations, not to err. And you ſee what power they aſcribe to the Saints departed, not only of Interceding, but Acting for us, and againſt our enmies. And partly from thence your Doctors have taken occaſion to inſtruct the people to invoke them as Patrons, and Protectors, and Saviours out of trouble. Now you have a rare art of Reduction, if you can bring all this under the ſingle head of Interceſſion, that they effect theſe things only by their praiers to God, and not by a delegacy of his power to them.

Phil. It comes all to one, if by their praiers they obtain ſuch power to ſave and to deſtroy.

Theoph. Take your ſuppoſitions for granted, and the caſe is clear. Mean while you put the poor miniſtring Angels out of Office, delegating their miniſtery and powers unto the Saints triumphant: and yet I cannot let paſs without a juſt indignation and cenſure theſe forementioned Threats in the Popes Bulls and Letters, "That the indignation of our great "God, and of his two Apoſtles Peter and Paul, ſhould be threatned together, as tho one were as much to be fear'd as the other: and ſo likewiſe for the conferring of bleſſing, and the return of thanks, they are directed to God and to the Saints. It is Bellarmin's cloſe in every Tome, [a] *Praiſe be given to God, and to the Bleſſed Virgin*: and ſo all the Jeſuits conclude. Nay, *Gregory de Valentia* puts the Virgin before our Saviour in the cloſe of many of his Books, *Laus Deo & beatæ Virgini Mariæ, & Domino Jeſu Chriſto.* Nay, we read how Pope *Pius* the fift aſcrib'd that famous Victory over the *Turks* in the Battel of *Lepanto* to the Virgin Mary, *and appointed a Solemn* [b] *Feaſt in memory thereof.* We ſhall find likewiſe in [c] Gregory the Great, ſuch expreſſions as theſe: "We truſt in the power of the moſt high God, and in the help of "bleſſed Peter the Prince of the Apoſtles. Now the holy Fathers taught us another leſſon, (as I have intimated partly before) not to join together almighty God and the Angels or any other Creature in our ſupplications or benedictions, or threats or confidences. [d] Great *Athanaſius* proves the unity of God the Father and of Chriſt, becauſe the Apoſtle hath join'd them in one praier. "God him ſelf and our Father and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt direct our way unto you. 1. Theſſ. 3. 11. And he proceeds, "No man muſt pray to receive any thing from the Father and from "the Angels or any other Creature, [e] neither may any one ſay, God "and the Angel give thee this. Upon this ground, as you have heard, he concluded in Jacobs bleſſings upon the ſons of Joſeph, that the Angel ſtands for the Son of God, the Angel of his Counſel, as the Septua-

[a] *Laus Deo & beatæ Virgini.*
[b] *Feſtum S. Mariæ à Victoriâ, Octobr. 7.*
[c] *Epiſtolarum lib. 12. Epiſt. 22. Speramus in omnip. Dei virtut. & in beati Petri Apoſt. Principis adjutorio.*
[d] *Oratione 4. contra Arr.*
[e] Οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις, Δῴη σοι ὁ Θεὸς, ἢ ὁ Ἄγγελος.

C c gint,

gint, read Is. 9. 6. So[a] Cyril of *Alexandria*, "No man would endure to "hear any one say, Would God and some Angel would direct your "course to us, &c. But alas in your Church your ears are accustom'd to such blasphemous conjunctions. *Jesu Maria*, is an usual oath among you, and *God help you and the Blessed Virgin*, you wish: if a beggar ask you Alms you say, *God relieve and S. Peter*. And so you have heard the imprecations of your Popes, *The indignation of God Almighty and of Peter and Paul light upon you*. Now, saith holy *Athanasius*, [b] *It sufficeth these things should come from the Father alone, no Creature communicating*. So ye make solemn vowes unto God and some particular Saint in trouble, and after deliverance pay to the Saint your vows. Nay, Cardinal [c] *Cajetan* maintains, That *a vow is made to God and to the Saint in the same manner, altho a vow be a religious Act; for we may as well make vows to them, as praiers*. And therefore notwithstanding all your qualifying distinctions, and Σοφὸν φάρμακον, there appears little difference in the Invocation of God and of the Saints: especially when you come to the practice of this Doctrine. These Instances which we have already given are authority sufficient unto the undiscerning people, to ask all blessings from the Saints, and to hope from them to receive blessings as confidently as from Almighty God.

Phil. No, they are taught to expect blessings from God, for the sake and Intercession of the Saints.

Theoph. And they are taught and accustom'd to ask blessings of the Saints without any such limitations, but in an absolute manner.

Phil. If the limitation be not exprest, it must be implied.

Theoph. It seems the ground of your peoples error is expressed, when the Hymns and prayers of your Church ask grace and protection of the Saints, without the reserve, *that they should procure them by their Intercession*. But that which should undeceive them is supprest, or (as you will have it) implied, *that what they ask absolutly of the Saints, they must understand it only in reference to their praiers and Intercession*. And so the ignorant people, who understand only the plain words of the petition, and not the sense of the Church (which is understood) are induc'd to hope in the Saints for their succours, and to fly to them in trouble as to their chief Sanctuary, and to return their thanks and their vows to them for their deliverance. [d] *Ludovicus Vives* complains that *the common people highly offend in not discerning between the worship of God and of the Saints; not doth their opinion*, saith he, *of the Saints want much of what the Heathen do believe of their Deities or Idols*.

Phil. What value we *Ludovicus Vives*? come to the point. What are

[a] *Thes. l. 3. c. 1.*

[b] *Loco citat.* Ἤρκει τὸν Πατέρα δοῦναι μόνον ἀδενὸς τῶν γεννητῶν, &c.

[c] *In 2. secundæ q. 88. Art. 5. Eadem ratione votum sit Deo & Sanctis, nec obstat quod sit actus relig. quia ejusdem virtutis est vovere & orare.*

[d] *Comm. in lib. 8. Aug. de Civ. Dei. Multi Christiani divos divasque non aliter venerantur quam Deum, &c.*

these

these praiers to the Saints, which you say our Church owns and prescribes, and are so offensive to your tender ears, and such a snare unto the people of God among us?

Theoph. Such as have the opportunity to search into your *Breviaries* and *Missals* have collected their gross absurdities; and your Doctors, as I can find, have not bin sollicitous to answer them. I shall give you some instances which I have taken out of one of your service books stiled [a] *The Ordinary after the use of Sarum*, printed at *Paris* by William *Merlyn*. In the Office of the Virgin we have these passages, [b] *Impart to us thy comfort, by thee may we deserve the reward, and the Kingdom of Heaven with the Elect.* Again, [c] "By thy pious intervention wash away our "sins; that being redeemed by thee we may climb the Seat of eternal "glory. O holy Virgin thou alone hast slain the heresies of the World: "[d] accept what we offer, give what we ask, and excuse what we fear. Then follows a *Formal praier* or *Collect*: [e] "O Queen of the world, the ladder "of Heaven, the Throne of God, and Gate of Paradise, hear the "praiers of the poor, and despise not the sighs of the miserable: Let "our groans and our desires be brought by thee into the sight of our "Redeemer; which by our misdeservings are cast out. [f] Blot out our "transgressions, release our sins, raise the faln, and loose such as are "bound: Let the branches of vices be cut off, and the flowers of ver-"tue planted. [g] Appease the Judg by thy praiers, whom thou hast brought "forth a Redeemer. That as by thee he was made partaker of the humane "nature, so by thee he may make us partakers of the Divine Nature. One passage more neer the close of the service I will produce. The Catholic Church celebrates the holy memory of Mary Mother of God, who stands in need for her salutary help without ceasing. [h] "And be-"cause the reverence towards the Mother redounds to Christ; therefore "with all the desire of our hert we will insist on her praises, that the "Mother may be favorable to us, and the Son a serene Judg.

Phil. You see most of these passages do proceed upon her praiers and intercession, that she would interpose for us and present our supplications and sighs unto our Redeemer.

Theoph. But you shut your eies, and not observe these absolute petitions, which are put up to her: and where any reference is made to Christ, even there it much derogates from his mediation and intercession; be-

[a] *Ordinarium secundum usum Sarum.*

[b] *Tuum nobis impende solatium, per te mereamur habere præmium, & cum electis Dei regnum.*

[c] *Tuo pio interventu, &c. ut per te redemti, sedem gloriæ, &c.*

[d] *Accipe quod offerimus, redona quod rogamus, &c.*

[e] *O Regina Mundi, Scala Cœli, Thronus Dei, Janua Parad. &c.*

[f] *Dele peccata, relaxa facinora, erige lapsos, solve compeditos.*

[g] *Placa precibus Judicem, quem puerp. genuisti Redemt. &c.*

[h] *Quoniam reverent. quæ Matri exhibetur Christo defertur, ideo totis desideriis, &c. Ut Matrem sentiamus piissimam, et filium ejus Judicem sereniss.*

cauſe it repreſents Chriſt as a Judg by her praiers and mediation to be appeas'd, the bleſſed Virgin becoming our Interceſſor unto Chriſt. And ſo by the ſtamp of public Authority, you ſee theſe extravagancies confirm'd, which above you would not juſtify, as being the fancies, as you call'd them, of private perſons. Now in confutation of ſuch blaſphemies the Holy Scriptures ſhew Chriſt to be our Advocate until the day of judgment, not a Juige: "A merciful and faithful High-Prieſt in things per-"taining to God, Hebr. 2. 17. Hebr. 4. 15. 16. For we have not High "Prieſt, which cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, but was "in all points temted like as we are, yet without ſin: Let us therefore "come boldly, ſaith the Apoſtle, unto the Throne of grace, that we "may obtain mercy. It is the deſign of Holy Scripture, to make poor ſinners come with confidence and comfort to Chriſt and to the Father. It is the deſigne of your Church to diſcourage them with a ſenſe of their unworthineſs, and to teach them to look upon Chriſt as a ſevere Judge, that ſo they may fly to the Virgin Mother, and to the Saints to be their Mediators and Interceſſors. Nothing is more oppoſite to the Covenant of Grace, to the Love of God, toward ſuch as are reconcil'd in Chriſt, to the tender compaſſion of our bleſſed Saviour, and to the gracious promiſes and Invitations of the Goſpel. And upon this account I may pronounce your Doctrine of the Saints Invocation and Interceſſion, to be a damnable doctrine, deſtructive to the Souls of men.

Phil. Satis pro imperio. Doubtleſs you think your ſelf as infallible, as we the Pope; and you deſign to put Chriſts Vicar beſides the Chair, to place your ſelf therein, and magiſterially declare againſt the doctrines of our Church.

Theoph. If our Declarations, like the Pope's many times, be againſt the Tenor of Holy Scriptures, regard them not; but if the word of God condems your practiſe, that which your Church teacheth in her public Offices; *Wo unto them by whom offences come.* I have follow'd your preſcription, and have kept cloſe to ſuch inſtances as are approv'd among you by Councils, and Popes, and Miſſals of your Church; and when you cannot refute the objection, you ſcoff at the opponent. But becauſe this Conference hath bin ſpun out into a great length, I will favor you and my ſelf with the omiſſion of many things: and give you only one Inſtance more out of the ſame Ordinary and Miſſal, according to the uſe of the Church of *Sarum*. In the Office of S. *Thomas* the Martyr, as you call him, Archibiſhop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of England. He was indeed a Martyr for the Pope, ſtanding ſo highly for his Authority in the juſtification of Appeals to Rome, and not ſubmitting the Clergy to the Laws of the Realm, that he betrai'd his Native Cuntry to a foreign Juriſdiction, and became a rebel to the King and Kingdom. Hereupon he was baniſh'd divers years, and by the intereſt of his great Patron the Pope in neigboring Princes, he created great vexation & trouble unto his lawfull Prince, King Henry the II^d. After 7 years reconciliation was made by the mediation of the Pope and other Princes between the King and him, and he return'd into England, the King abiding in his Territories

in

in *France*. Upon his return, by the Popes *Bull*, he Excommunicates the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and thoſe other Biſhops, who in his Baniſhment officiated in the Coronation of the Kings ſon *Henry*, according to his Fathers command; alleading that the priviledg of Coronation of Kings of *England*, belong'd to him as Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. This and other inſolencies being ſoon related to King *Henry* in *France*, he ſpake paſſionately againſt the proud Prelate; and immediately four Commanders in his Camp went over into *England*, entred the Biſhops Palice, and purſu'd him into the Chappel, and there Inhumanly, and Sacrilegiouſly murder'd him. [a] Hereupon by the Pope he was Canoniz'd for a glorious Saint, and Martyr, and an [b] Annual feaſt was Inſtituted afterwards in memory of his Martyrdom, upon the 29th of *December*, a ſolemn office and ſervice there is appointed for the day, as we find it in the miſſal; wherein the Account is given that the firſt Solemnity of his Tranſlation was kept in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, *Henry* the third being preſent, and the Popes Legat *Pandulphus*; the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, all the Prelates, and Nobles, in the Year 1220, Fifty Years after his Paſſion, and that the Martyr *Thomas* of *Becket* honor'd his Tranſlation with many Miracles, [c] *Reſtoring ſight to the Blind, Hearing to the Deaf, Speech to the Dumb, and Life to the Dead.* In the Office we have theſe Praiers. *O Jeſus Chriſt by the Merits of* Thomas *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes.* Again, [d] *By the blood of* Thomas *ſhed upon thy ſcore, make us to follow where he's gon before.* Another Petition there is to the Martyr himſelf in that Office. [e] *O* Thomas *give us help. Strengthen thoſe that ſtand, raiſe them that fall, Correct our Manners, Actions, and Life, and guide us in the way of peace.* In their Hymne for that day, they declare Wonders.

All things obey, and veild to *Thomas*,
Plague, Diſeaſes, Death, and Divels;
Fire, Water, Earth, and Seas,
Thomas hath fil'd the World with glory,
The world to *Thomas* yields obeyſance,
Thomas ſhines with new Miracles,
He reſtores the Members to the Gelt,
He adornes the Blind with ſight,
Cleanſeth the Lepers and their ſpots,
And free's the dead from hands of death.

[f] Thomæ *cedunt & parent omna.*
Peſtes, morbi, mors, & dæmonia,
Ignis, Aer, Tellus & Maria,
Thomas *mundum replevit gloriâ,*
Thomæ *Mundus preſtat Obſequia,*
Novis ſulget Thomas *Miraculis,*
Membris donat Caſtratos maſculis
Ornat uiſu privatos oculis,
Mundat Leprœ conſperſos maculis
Solvit Mortis ligatos vinculis.

[a] *See Gulielmus Nubrigenſis, his Hiſt. of England. l. 2. c. 16. p. 84. &c.*
[b] *Baro. Martyr Rom. in 29. Decembris.*
[c] *Cæcis ad viſum, ſurdis ad Audit. &c.*
[d] *Tu per Thomæ ſanguin. &c.*
[e] *Opem nobis O Thoma porrige. Rege ſtantes. &c.*

There

There is a farther account, how *a Country Man going to visit the Martyrs Tomb, was justled into the River by a Waggon on the Bridge. And rising, and sinking five times, he was at last cast upon the Shore safe. For having call'd upon the Martyr for his aid, and that he would not suffer his poor Pilgrim to perish; a grave Bishop appear'd, upholding and conducting him to land.* This is the *Legend* of St *Thomas* of *Becket*, which your Church hath adopted into the Service and Office for the Feast. And I have bin the more particular, that you may observe well the gross Fables and Absurdities therein, that your Church should impose such Stories of Miracles upon the credulous People: And is it possible you should be reduc'd to such a low esteem of the pretious Blood of Christ, that you must Petition our Blessed Savior to bring you to Heaven by the Blood of his Martyr *Thomas*? And for a Conclusion, I pray seriously consider this pretended Martyr: He died in the defence of the Popes Usurpations among us, and the Pope hath requited him with a Sainthip; whereas he had great success to go to Heaven so immediatly, with such Qualifications of a turbulent and haughty Spirit. And this ushers in another grievance and just Exception we take against your Invocation of Saints, because you pray to some Saints of whom you have no assurance that they are in Heaven; nay, of whom you cannot prove that ever they were in being: what think you of the Beggars Saint, St *Lazarus*? [a] *Salmeron* assures us, *That he is every where esteemed a Saint, and Protector of the poor; Canoniz'd by the Church, & worship'd with Altars and Images, and Prayers made unto him.* And I have read an Argument, some of your Doctors have urg'd, to prove it an History of *Dives* and *Lazarus* in the Gospel, and not a Parable, because *Lazarus* is a Canoniz'd Saint, and therefore doubtless such a Person there was, of whom our Savior in the Gospel gives an Historical account. But I have shewed above, from the judgment of divers Fathers, that it is a Parable: *Theophilact* calls him *fool who thinks otherwise*, and that by *Dives* and *Lazarus* only were represented the Rich and Poor, by a Fiction of Persons suited to a Parable: and so your Jesuit *Maldonate* affirms. Now for your Church to make a real Saint of this Parabolical Representation, to whom you make your Addresses in Prayer, something resembles your other kind of Devotion, Praying unto, or worshipping the Image instead of the Saint. Your Church might as well have made the Prodigal Son returning, a Saint. So for St *George*, you cannot make any Historical Demonstration, that such a Holy Person and Martyr there was. *George* of *Cappadox* was a fierce *Arrian*, mightily opposing *Athanasius*, but he was slain for being a Christian b an Heathen Prince; and so by his Heretical Faction esteemed a Martyr, whom they represented for a great Champion and Captain under Christ, fighting against the great Magician of *Alexandria*, as they impiously stiled Holy *Athanasius*; otherwise, we rather account

[a] *Part.* 3. *Tom.* 4. *Tract.* 2.

[b] *Baronius Tom.* 1. *Anno* 33. *N.* 44. *Multis in locis in memoriam Lazari, &c.*

Saint

Saint *George*, as he is constantly represented in his Image, slaying a Dragon in rescue of a Virgin, to be an Emblem of our Blessed Savior, overcoming the Red Dragon, our great Enemy the Devil, and rescuing his Church as a chast Virgin from his temtations and force. [a] *Baronius* acknowledgeth the Picture of St *George* on Horse-back, armed *cap-a-pe*, and slaying a Dragon, to be a *Symbolical Image rather then a true History*. And that *Jacobus de Voragine*, *He that made the Golden Legend, made it an History*. An Emblem, saith [b] *Hyperius* of Christian Magistrates, *Who defend the Church of Christ as a pure Virgin from the snare of the Devil, and his accursed Instruments: interposing their power against the pernicious attemts of Heretics*: and so by the Blessing of God, St *George* shall be the Emblem of our most Noble Order of the Garter, even unto the end of the World. What shall I say of the Gyant St *Christopher*, from the Etymology of whose name, you have driv'd a Fable, *That being of a vast height, at least 12 Cubits in length, he carried our Blessed Savior over a deep and dangerous River; guiding himself by a Staff like a Weavers beam.* [c] *Vincentius* makes him an Emblem of a Preacher of the Gospel, *who holding forth Christ in his word visible unto the People, is encompass'd with Waves, and Tempests, and Waters of Affliction and Persecution, but supports himself, and wades thro with the staff of his Christian hope, the expectation of the exceeding recompence of reward.* After this sort, to fill up your Kalendar of Saints, your Doctors might do well to go down into *Egypt*, and bring their ancient Hieroglyphics to be Canonized and Worship'd.

Phil. You may do better to forbare scoffing, and study the Defence which our Doctors make against all the Exceptions your side have produc'd concerning these and other Saints.

Theoph. I have search'd, and find them so impertinent, that I lost my labor, and shall not (until I be urg'd farther to it) trouble you and the Reader with the discovery.

Phil. I thank you for sparing your self and your Friend together, for I begin to be weary of this Discourse, which hath bin drawn out beyond expectation, and me-thinks, gives but little satisfaction.

Theoph. My serious endeavors to open your Eyes unto a discovery of the Errors of your Church, are abundantly satisfactory unto my Conscience, altho the success should fail, and you still *stop your Ears against the voice of the Charmer*. And yet I must trespass upon your patience in one more consideration, touching the Canonizing of Saints. If an Error should be committed therein, it would be diffusive, and spread all over your Church. Praiers may be made as to a Saint in Heaven, whil'st the Person himself who is invok'd is miserably tormented in Hell; excluded by a more infallible Judgment from the Beatifical Vision for ever.

[a] *Martyrol Rom. Apr.* 23. *Symboli potius quam Historiæ alicujus, &c.*
[b] *Hyperius de Rat. Stud. Theol. l.* 3 *c.* 7.
[c] *Hyperius loc. citato.*

For

For instance: Suppose Almighty God hath not approv'd the Contentions of *Thomas* of *Becket* with his Prince, but hath past against him the Sentence of Damnation for resisting the Powers, whilst the Pope hath Sainted him: What will become of all his Pilgrims and Votaries? how many Prayers would be made in vain, to the shame and mockery of Religion? Altho in truth all your Prayers, even unto the undubitable Saints in Heaven, upon the supposition that they hear you not, are altogether in vain; and so the greatest part of your Religion is vain, and a sad account you must give of your Lip-labor and Will-worship. I pray seriously study an Answer to that severe Question: *Who hath required these things at your hands?*

Phil. We are not sollicitous to answer that Question, because we proceed upon a better Supposition, That the Saints do know our State and Condition, and hear our Prayers to them, and do make Intercession for us. But in answer to your conceit, of an Error that may be in the act of Canonizing. *Bellarmin* shews, how that solem Act appertains to the Pope, who proceeds therein with great Deliberation, and mature Judgment, upon all Relations and Circumstances; and ordinarily without the ample Testimony of Miracles effected by him a Saint is not Canoniz'd, and so there is no fear of Mistake and Error: and withal, great preparation is made unto that solemn Act, by publick Prayer and Fasting; and it is not credible God should be wanting to his Church so well disposed in her Devotions in a matter of so great concern.

Theoph. If they are Credibilities, however they are not Certainties, and so your Prayers to many Saints must be without the assurance of Faith that they are such. We may certainly call upon God thro the Meditation of Christ, and have our Prayers heard, and Supplications granted; but you can have no such assurance of your Martyr St *Thomas*. [a] *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth, *Time was, when the People of a City worship'd one for a Saint, after his death; of whom holy* Martin, *who lived among them, was suspitious, and earnestly praied to God to discover to him the condition of the person deceas'd: and behold, his Soul appear'd and inform'd St.* Martin, *That he had bin a Thief and a Robber, and was justly executed as a Malefactor, and now tormented in Hell: And so, saith he, Pope* Innocent *the third reprehends some who honor'd one for a Martyr, that was slain when he was drunk.* And I will give you one Instance more to this purpose out of our English Histories: [b] We read how one *William* a *Londoner*, a factious and turbulent Person, of a smooth and voluble Tongue, sets up himself to be a King and Savior of the poor People from the Oppression of the Nobles, in the absence of King *Richard*: and so gathers a multitude of Seditious Persons, and became a Preacher and a Captain among them: but the tumult being soon suppress by the Wisdom of the Kings Council, and *William*, with other of his Accomplices, being Executed; a Priest, that

[a] *Bell. ibid. c. 7. Inebrietate occisum pro Martyre Venerantes.*
[b] *Gulielmus Neubrigens. lib. 5. c. 18.*

William,

was his Kinsman, takes the Chain wherewith he was bound, and pretends to work Miracles, and divers cures thereby. The unwary People entertain the Delusion, and cut the Gibbet whereupon he suffered in pieces, keeping them as Sacred Relics; and also the Earth which was sprinkled with his blood. They honor him for a Saint, and make their Praiers to him, with great pretensions of success; until time, and the Magistrates care and wisdom did undeceive them.

Phil. To prevent such horrible mistakes, two Popes, *Alexander* the third, and *Innocent* the third, absolutly forbid any Saint to be worship'd, and Invocated, without the approbation of the Bishop of *Rome*: whereas before, as *Bellarmin* sheweth, any Bishop might Canonize a Saint within his own Diocess.

Theoph. Now it is reduc'd unto the Pope: what assurance have you of his infallible Judgment? For it is observ'd, he hath proceeded much by favor and affection in this Affair, gratifying Princes in their Requests for their Relations and Country-men. And it hath bin said, That if *Henry* the 7th had not bin too tenacious and sparing of his Tresure, when he made his Request, that *Henry* the 6th might be Canoniz'd for a Saint, he had not fail'd of his desire.

Phil. We know, the lying Tongue of Calumny and Slander hath bin alwaies sharpned against his Holiness: but God will not be wanting to his Church in matters of such moment and concern, and therefore we do not trouble our Consciences with your Scruples.

Theoph. The Infallibility of the Pope in his Determinations, *è Cathedra*, which you most unreasonably maintain, and whereupon you lay the Foundation of your new-coin'd Articles of Faith, may fall into consideration (if God permit) hereafter; mean-while, the Objection turns not altogether upon that hinge: for altho the Pope were infallible in his Canonization, that is, for a general Reception and Veneration; no Saint without the Popes allowance must be publicly and generally call'd upon in Praier: Yet *Bellarmin* grants the Invocation of other Saints by privat Persons, and faith, *It is the common Opinion of the Doctors.* Now I pray observe the Inconveniencies from hence: A Wife who hath lost a deer Husband, or Children their Parents, they usually follow them with passionate Affection, and prize them higher, being bereft of them, then when they had the happiness of their Society. Now as other civil commerce is intercepted by death, if communion with them by Invocation and Praier may be allowed, what will be the excess of their Superstitious Devotion in this case. Affection and Charity, will conclude their Friends deceas'd are undoubted Saints in Heaven, and their Piety will alwaies promt them to call upon them for assistance and protection, as being most assur'd of their readiness to help them, even to the uttermost. And so when Men and Women should be instant in Praier to God Almighty, the stream of their Devotion will be carried on towards their Relations who are gon to God before them; and so the highest act of Religion, Praier, with all its Fervors and Devotion, will evaporate in

emty Supplications made to thoſe, of whoſe happineſs Men have no aſſurance, but from their fond and fallible Eſtimations: and ſo between the Invocation of Saints that are, and of others ſuppoſed to be in Heaven, the God of Heaven is almoſt forgotten in your Praiers, according to that proverbial Speech grounded upon your intolerable Exceſſes in this Point, [a] *God is not known among the Saints.* You have heard, how in the Virgins [b] Pſalter aſcrib'd to *Bonaventure*, the Names of God and Lord are expung'd, and in their place the name of our Lady is inſerted. In the *Virgins Roſary*, after ten *Ave Maries*, or Angelical Salutations, [b] *Hail* Mary, *full of Grace, the Lord is with thee: Bleſſed art thou among Women: and Bleſſed is Jeſus the Fruit of thy Womb. Holy* Mary, *Mother of God, Pray for us ſinners, now, and in the hour of our death. Amen.* I ſay, after ten *Ave Maries*, follows one *Pater noſter*, or the Lords Praier: and fifty *Ave Maries*, and five *Pater noſters*, make a *Roſary*; ſo called, becauſe it is interwoven with Praiers and Salutations, *Pater noſter's* and *Ave Maries*, as a Garland with Flowers. Now out of great Devotion ſome will treble the *Roſary*, and ſo make 150 Salutations, which they call'd the Ladies Pſalter, until *Bonaventure* was ſo bold, out of *Davids* Pſalter to compoſe another. and many Fraternities and Companies were erected in ſeveral Chaunteries to celebrate and rehearſe thoſe treble *Roſaries*, ſaying 150 *Ave Maries*, and 15 *Pater Noſter's* in one Service; and ſo they became highly guilty of the Heatheniſh Battology, which our Bleſſed Savior forbad, *Matth.* 6. And to make this great Devotion general and public, Pope *Gregory* the 13th appoints a *Solemn* [c] *Feaſt of the Roſary of the bleſſed Virgin, to be celebrated by all in general, and by every ſingle perſon, with the double greater Office and Solemnity.* You ſee the grand Superſtition of this Office, and the proportion ten to one, between their rehearſing the Lords Praier, and the Angels Salutation, or the *Ave Mary*. So are likewiſe your Letanies now ſtufft with the Names of all the Saints you can imagin to be in Heaven, and with the Orders of Angels, and the Name of God and of Chriſt hath ſcarce any room among them: whereas we read the antient Letanies were Κύριε ἐλέησον, Χριστὲ ἐλέησον, Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us.* The People of God in great Extremities of Earthquakes, and Tempeſts, and Plagues, and calling earneſtly upon God in theſe Forms: until in the fifth Century was added the *Triſagion, Holy is the Lord, holy is the ſtrong, holy is the* [d] *Immortal*: [e] which Form, *(whil'ſt the Church of God in* Conſtantinople, *upon a great Earthquake, running forth into the field, called upon God for mercy)* was taught them from Heaven by a yong Child, who was carried up out of their ſight (the Patriarch *Proclus*, of *Con-*

[a] *Non cognoſcitur Deus inter Sanctos.*
[b] *Ave Maria gratiâ plena, &c.*
[c] *Feſtum Roſarii Beatæ Virg. Sub 2. majori officio ab omnibus, &c.*
[d] *Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus Immortalis.*
[e] *Bin. Tom. 3. Epiſt. 3. Felicis Papæ ad Petrum Fullonem, p. 801.*

ſtantinople,

ſtantinople, and all the People being Eye-witneſſes) and after an hour, was let down into the midſt of them, and declared, That he had heard the Angels ſing that Hymn, and that he was commanded to bring it down to them.

Phil. If all be Goſpel that you ſay, it ſufficeth, there needs no more Additions.

Theoph. Thoſe things are well known, and may be eaſily confirm'd by Teſtimonies: But I am willing to give you reſpite, and not multiply Arguments and Teſtimonies, ſeeing you have acknowledged what hath bin ſaid to be ſufficient (as I ſuppoſe) to prove what I firſt deſign'd, The Error of your Doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, and the great Superſtition and Idolatry in the practice. And now, good Sir, give me your hand in aſſurance, that you will pardon my Incivility, to hold you ſo long in an unacceptable Diſcourſe abroad, mean-while, forgetting that reſpect and entertainment which is due to a worthy Friend, who hath moſt courteouſly given me a Viſit. Will you pleaſe therefore to walk in and recreate your ſelf with other Divertiſements, and better Company; and with ſuch ſlender Proviſions as we can make at preſent. I hope you will be ſo kind to ſtay longer with us, and give the Opportunity to make amends.

FINIS.